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The Christian Century

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DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Victory Must Begin at Home!

By Robert Maynard Hutchins

The Practice of the Presence

By Gerald Heard

Bombers Over Tokyo

An Editorial

Citizens or Subjects?

An Editorial

Abdication at Washington

By Oswald Garrison Villard

Emancipation for the Machine

By J. Middleton Murry

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In This Issue

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS

is president of the University of Chicago and probably the most discussed figure in the American educational world. He has led in the revolt against a purely functional conception of higher education, and has insisted that the American school will not find its lost sense of direction until it places metaphysics at the foundation of its curriculum. The article in this issue was first delivered by Dr. Hutchins as an address at the chapel of the university on April 12.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

completes this week the article which began in the previous issue. A brief sketch of Mr. Murry's career also appeared last week. It did not mention one fact which many readers of modern literature never forget, namely, that Mr. Murry was the husband of the late Katherine Mansfield.

GERALD HEARD

has been a resident of the United States since 1937. After a period as a lecturer at Oxford he became known in England as a radio speaker on scientific subjects. The first of his books to attract wide attention on this side of the Atlantic was *The Ascent of Humanity.* Since its appearance in 1929 his writings have covered a wide range, which may be suggested by such titles as *The Emergence of Man, Science in the Making, The Source of Civilization* and *Pain, Sex and Time.* During the last few years his writing has been concerned almost entirely with religious topics. Mr. Heard lives in Hollywood, Calif.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

contributes regularly to The Christian Century.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 29, 1942

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Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 30-May 3. Eastern District Conference, Mennonite Church of North America, Allentown, Pa.
Apr. 30-May 4. Eastern Pennsylvania Conference, Evangelical Congregational Church, Reading.
Apr. 30-May 4. Superior Conference, Augustana Lutheran Synod, Marquette, Mich.
May 1. United Christian Education Advance, Buffalo, N. Y.
May 1-3. Annual Congress, Central States Cooperatives, Columbus, Ohio.
May 1-3. Mid-west Conference, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Des Moines, Ia.
May 2, 3. Marquette Baptist Association, Manistique, Mich.
May 2-9. Pan-American Child Congress, Washington, D. C.
May 3. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Peter Marshall, speaker.
May 3-6. Institute for Education by Radio, Columbus, Ohio.
May 3-10. Christian Family Week.
May 4-10. Annual Missionary Education Institute, Indianapolis, Ind.
May 5-7. Annual Meeting, Associated Church Press, New York city.
May 6, 7. Hillsdale Baptist Association, Batavia, Mich.
May 7-10. Women's International League, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia.
May 10. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; John R. Mott, speaker.
May 10. Rural Life Sunday.
May 10. Mother's Day.
May 10. General Synod, Reformed Presbyterian Church, Sparta, Ill.
May 10-16. Church Conference of Social Work and National Conference of Social Work, New Orleans.
May 11-14. Conference on the Contemporary Church, Los Angeles.
May 12-14. Philadelphia Synod, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Philadelphia.
May 12-17. Philadelphia and Baltimore Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Washington, D. C.
May 12-17. Philadelphia Conference, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.
May 14. Chicago District Methodist Conference, Waukegan, Ill.
May 15. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York city.
May 15-18. Pennsylvania Conference, Congregational Christian Churches, Ebensburg.
May 17. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Charles R. Brown, speaker.
May 17. Citizenship Recognition Day.
May 18-21. Central Pennsylvania Synod, United Lutheran Church in America, Allentown.
May 19-22. Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service, Columbus, O.
May 19-22. Methodist Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.
May 21. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Milwaukee, Wis.
May 22-26. Methodist Council of Bishops, Nashville, Tenn.
May 24. Pentecost and Christian Unity Sunday.
May 26-31. Northern Baptist Convention, Cleveland, O.
May 27. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio.
May 28. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Knoxville, Tenn.
May 31-June 6. East Central Disciples Young People's Summer Conference, Charleston, Ill.
June 3-5. American Calvinistic Conference, Grand Rapids, Mich.
June 3-July 15. Lisle Fellowship Conference, Lisle, N. Y.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LIX CHICAGO, APRIL 29, 1942 NUMBER 17

EDITORIAL

THIS is the week sugar rationing starts. Every household in the nation is to be restricted in its use of sugar because so much of that commodity, we are told, is needed to make the molasses which is needed to make the ethyl alcohol which is needed to make the smokeless powder which is needed to make the big guns shoot. If it were certain that the need is as imperative as has been said, no housewife would grumble over going through the rigmarole involved in getting her ration books or over cutting down on the consumption of sugar in her kitchen and on her table. But recent figures raise questions. Dean Frederick D. Kershner of Butler, writing in the *Christian-Evangelist,* quotes the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis to the effect that there were 511,211,285 gallons of whisky stocked in warehouses at the end of 1941, and that whisky production in December was 13,632,281 gallons for the month. Government chemists have stated that it would be perfectly possible to redistill this whisky in such a way as to obtain an almost equal amount of high test alcohol. If once these Federal Reserve figures begin to circulate, there may be a good many American housewives who will start asking why they should be called on to deprive themselves of a food necessity while the distillers hold their stocks of booze inviolate.

Whisky Reserves Soar as Sugar Rationing Starts

State Sedition Law To Be Tested

ONLY A FEW WEEKS ago the Mississippi legislature passed a law which provided penalties of up to ten years in prison for "seditious utterances from the pulpit or elsewhere which would make it appear that the defense of our homes by arms is a crime in the sight of God." It was said at the time of its passage to be aimed at the suppression of Jehovah's Witnesses, the sect which teaches that saluting the flag is a form of idolatry and whose members refuse to render military service of any kind. Now two farmers of Dublin, Mississippi, have been arrested and jailed without bond on charges of having violated this law. They are accused of distributing pamphlets, a right which has specifically been upheld by the United States Supreme Court, and of preaching against saluting the flag. Mississippi sentiment being what it is, it seems probable they will receive the full penalty of the law. As it stands, the case of the Dublin farmers is another illustration of the rule, which was so frequently illustrated in the First World War, that the worst excesses against the essential liberties of democracy are perpetrated by local or state governments rather than the federal power. The criminal syndicalism laws which followed the former war were an example. Under their harsh provisions, members of I.W.W. and similar unorthodox groups received sentences of amazing savagery for holding and expressing opinions which were not in accord with the majority view. Many of those laws, incidentally, are still on the statute books, although they have not been invoked in recent years. The Mississippi episode provides clear warning that another such epidemic of official intolerance is about to break. It will test to the limit the ability of the department of justice and the courts to maintain the democratic freedoms which we must cherish for those with whom we differ as well as for ourselves.

General Electric, Krupp and The Cartel System

ABOUT ONE MORE revelation of intimate relations between big business and nazi-controlled industries and the American people will go on the warpath. Last week, hard on the heels of the disclosure of the way in which Standard Oil of New Jersey teamed up with I. G. Farbenindustrie to control the world's supply of synthetic rubber, the government charged that General Electric had gone into partnership with Krupp to corner the world output of tungsten carbide. It was another cartel deal which, now that the United States is at war with Germany, has left American industry out on the end of a perilously thin limb. Tungsten carbide is a metal-hardening material indispensable in making the high-speed cutting tools which the machine tool industry is being called on to turn out in such quantities. General Electric formed a

patent pool to control it with Krupp. The deal succeeded in (1) running the price from $50 a pound, which G.E. admitted was "high," to $453; (2) dividing up the world market; (3) limiting American production sharply; (4) giving the Krupp interests a veto power over the licensing of American manufacturers; and (5) producing a situation since the outbreak of the war which leaves the United States with far less tungsten carbide than Germany and "one of the principal bottlenecks in the present production program." All this was alleged by John Henry Lewin, assistant to the attorney general, in his testimony before the Senate committee which is investigating the international patent situation. Public indignation will stand just about so much of this sort of revelation, and then there is bound to be an explosion. But the explosion will accomplish little good unless the public learns that these international industrial cartels, which seem such a menace in a war emergency, have been the real wielders of international power in time of peace, and that no lasting security is possible while they continue to organize the world on a basis of exclusive rights to economic exploitation. No future world organization which fails to provide international controls for such cartels will be worth much as a protector of peace.

'Social Justice' Barred From the Mails

TWO WEEKS AGO we noted with satisfaction increasing opposition within the Catholic press to the sort of journalism represented by Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. This has now led to action by the postmaster general, taken on the advice of Attorney General Biddle, barring several issues of the paper from the mails. A hearing is scheduled to be held by post office authorities in the near future, after which it is reported that the mailing ban will probably be made permanent, at least for the duration of the war. No one acquainted with the sort of stuff which *Social Justice* has printed will be surprised at the government's conclusion that it has constituted "a systematic and unscrupulous attack upon the war effort" and that the country would be better off if the paper were silenced. It is said that the government may proceed against Father Coughlin's paper under the Espionage Act. It should be remembered, however, that the Espionage Act provides that "no publication shall be excluded [from the mails] on account of the general tone of either its editorial or news columns." If sedition is alleged—and the definition of sedition in the law is sufficiently broad to satisfy any prosecutor—then the charge should be established before a jury. Departmental orders resorted to as a means of dealing with questions of this kind are fairly sure to lead to arbitrary acts by individual officials. At least, that was what happened during the First World War. In his *Censorship 1917* James R. Mock lists some of the papers which had one or more issues excluded from the mails during the former war. It is a long list, and it includes publications as diverse as the *New York Times, Saturday Evening Post, North American Review, Review of Reviews, World Tomorrow, Irish World, Intercollegiate Socialist, Masses, Menace, Milwaukee Leader* and *World's Work*. If the paper had friends at court, it generally was restored to mailing privileges after a curtain lecture. If it did not—which meant in practice, if it had Socialist or I.W.W. connections—it was barred. Mr. Biddle must know how swiftly that slippery pathway led down into the quagmire of arbitrary offenses against civil liberties in which A. Mitchell Palmer floundered after the war.

Why Is Compulsion Needed?

WHEN does a democracy reach the point of diminishing returns in its sacrifices of liberty? Senator Bilbo of Mississippi has introduced a bill in Congress which would surpass these limits if anything can. Entitled the "Total Mobilization Act," the measure seeks to accomplish its purpose by authorizing the President to conscript the labor of men or women above the age of eighteen. It also permits the President to commandeer all property needed in the prosecution of the war. With the government already taking over airplane factories on the ground of "dissatisfaction with the management," it is evident that the property provision in the Bilbo bill is unnecessary. Its main purpose is doubtless to sweeten the bitter pill of labor conscription. Compulsory work in government-stipulated places at dictated pay will seem poor compensation indeed to organized labor, which has led the country in approval of the President's policy before Pearl Harbor and of the policy adopted by Congress since that time. Exactly this sort of thing has been for years a major part in labor's indictment of totalitarianism, whether of the fascist, the nazi, the Japanese or the communist variety. In America's case, Senator Bilbo's bill is as unnecessary as it is undemocratic. With millions unemployed and eager to work, the spur needed for war production is not compulsion of labor but the unscrambling of management and government. A certain amount of thought for the human factors involved, such as the provision of decent housing for workers in defense industries, would go much further toward expediting production than all the authoritarian regimentation conceivable. Under ordinary circumstances, the vigilance of organized labor would prevent this bill from getting consideration, to say nothing of passing. But rumor persists in Washington that the administration is backing it, and that the first major crisis in the war will be used to rush through its passage. It will therefore bear watching.

Vichy Bows to Berlin

THERE IS no reason to suppose that Marshal Petain's personal opinion of Laval had changed between December 13, 1940, when he ousted Laval from the cabinet and placed him under arrest for his too ardent "collaboration" with the conqueror of France, and April 19, 1942, when, having "divested himself of the functions of chief of government" in favor of that same Laval, he praised the "wisdom, patience and patriotism" of Hitler's most devoted French agent. These are the things a man must say, and placing the government in such hands is the kind of thing a man must do, when he is in such a spot as that

which the aged Petain occupies. The resistance which he has offered, in diminishing degree, to German utilization of French resources, is now removed. There remains only the resistance of the French people, and it is still to be determined whether their feeling, without organization or leadership, can find any effective expression. The French assets which Germany wishes to commandeer, in addition to those already in hand, are ships, colonial and island bases, and manpower for the production of war supplies. The Vichy fleet, for which Hitler's fingers have long been itching, consists of five battleships, about twelve cruisers, and approximately fifty destroyers and fifty submarines. Such a naval force thrown into the battle of the Mediterranean would by no means be counter-balanced by putting into service the "demilitarized" French vessels now in harbors under British control. Not only are the latter much fewer, but it would require months to replace their guns and fit them for action. Among the colonial outposts which would be valuable bases for naval action are Dakar, Madagascar, and the French possessions in the West Indies. As to industrial manpower, there has been mention of 500,000 as the number of additional French workers wanted for factories producing war goods for Germany, but this merely means that there will be a demand for as many as possible. The immediate problem for American diplomacy concerns our relations with the new and more completely Hitlerized French government. The policy of "limited appeasement" seems to have run its course; but are we ready to face a prospect of outright war?

Kenya Conscription Plan Causes Misgivings

ALTHOUGH world attention is directed elsewhere these days, considerable liberal opinion in England has been showing uneasiness regarding the treatment of native populations in British colonies in Africa. There has been a good deal of discussion lately of the revision of statutes governing the control of lands and natives in Rhodesia. Charges have been printed in several English liberal papers that the new Rhodesian regulations are far too favorable for white settlers. Now this same question has come up in Parliament with reference to plans recently announced for the conscription of native labor in Kenya. As a war measure, the Kenya colonial government has decided to empower an Essential Undertakings Board to designate what enterprises in that colony are essential to the prosecution of the war. District labor committees are thereupon to be given authority to conscript native labor to work these enterprises. In defending the scheme before Parliament the colonial office naturally stressed the safeguards which have been provided. Wages will be set by a central board; labor is to be represented on the conscripting committees; district tribunals will have power to grant exemptions. But whether such safeguards can protect the natives against the abuses which threaten any system of forced labor remains to be seen. Many Englishmen are deeply unhappy about the whole business. "What security is there," asks the *Manchester Guardian*, "that these provisions are adequate to protect the African laborer in a colony with Kenya's bad history and special circumstances?" The Churchill government may be as confident as it professes that such a scheme can be carried through without injustice, but it does not augur well for the rapid spread of the Four Freedoms through Africa.

Negroes Not Satisfied by Navy's Concessions

OUR PREDICTION, made last week, that Negroes would not be satisfied by Secretary Knox's announcement that they would hereafter be allowed to enlist in all branches of the naval fighting services and might even become petty officers, has already been fulfilled. The Knox statement has drawn a blast of criticism and protest from the Negro press. It begins to look as though Negro opinion might be more outraged by the limitations imposed on the latest concessions than it was by the original color bar policy of the navy. The *Pittsburgh Courier,* most widely circulated Negro paper, headlines its front page: "Mr. Knox hasn't said enough." George S. Schuyler, perhaps the only Negro columnist with a national following, starts his comment, "Secretary Knox labored and brought forth a crow known as Jim." Then he goes on from there. The Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls the new regulations "a deliberate insult to all defenders of democracy," and demands the removal of Secretary Knox. A. Philip Randolph, top Negro labor leader, asserts that the navy's new policy "extends and consolidates the policy of jim crowism" and "proclaims as an accepted, recognized ideology that the Negro is inferior to the white race." Even the cautious national office of the N.A.A.C.P. comments: "We are glad that the navy's policy has been revised, but we wonder if the change is not more apparent than real?" If this means anything, it means trouble ahead.

Feed at Least the Little Children

THE MORAL DEGRADATION of starving your friends as a means of harming your enemy is not an easy thing with which to live. Rationalize it as we will, it simply is not humanly possible to reflect on what is happening to the children of the small democracies of Europe without spiritual misery. Rumors which persist in seeping out of Washington that officials in the Red Cross and in the government are debating whether to challenge the British blockade policy are therefore eagerly and hopefully heard. So too is this minute which the "meeting for sufferings" of the London Society of Friends recently sent to Mr. Churchill and his minister for economic warfare: "The tragedy of famine has come to Europe. Food blockade is part of the strategy used by both sides in this struggle and, in spite of the reluctance of thoughtful people, it is the policy of Britain to prevent food reaching certain countries of Europe. Starvation is a weapon which attacks the whole population. It is indiscriminate, making no distinction between men and women, friend and foe, old and young. But especially it wrecks the lives of children. Moreover, the effects of food blockade are not confined to the

starving. Its employment promotes among those who use it a hardening of the heart which is destructive of the Christian values, values which include mercy and compassion, and for which this country claims to be fighting. If this policy is continued, the result to the world will be incalculable spiritual and moral loss. We know from the experience of previous wars that such a policy makes it far harder to build a new world; and for the men and women who were starved as children, or watched the starvation of their children, to help in building it. We recognize that in the introduction of food, serious political and technical difficulties are involved, but experience during and since the last war shows that these can be overcome. This has already been done in part in respect of Greece. The Religious Society of Friends believes therefore that it is urgently necessary to find means of permitting the entry into the countries of Europe at present closed by the blockade of at least such food and clothing as are essential for the maintenance and growth of child life, even if this involves a lessening of our own supplies."

Bombers Over Tokyo

NO NEWS since Pearl Harbor has sent such a thrill of excitement through the nation as was caused when Tokyo broadcast word that American planes had bombed that city, Yokohama, Kobe and Nagoya. Up to that moment the American people had found the war almost entirely a test in bearing up under defeats. The attempts to magnify minor naval actions and the shelling of small atolls into important victories had utterly failed to rouse them. The exaggerated interpretation imparted to such incidents had been too palpable. Pearl Harbor, Wake, Guam, Manila, the Java straits, Bataan—these were the names which had become fixed in the American mind, and these were all defeats. Would there never come news of another kind?

Perhaps it was the very fact that the attack on Tokyo came so soon after the surrender of Bataan that made it seem so rousing an achievement in American eyes. "This," cried a representative midwestern paper like the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* "is the electrifying news for which the people of the United Nations have been eagerly hoping." Yet beyond the contrast to the evil tidings from Bataan, there was a deeper reason why the country hailed the report of these bombings with such enthusiasm. If defeating Japan involved retaking, one by one, the islands and the mainland bases all the way back from Australia to Hongkong, then there was no prospect ahead but long years of fighting and a staggering toll of death. But if the war could be carried to the heart of the Japanese empire by air, then the smashing of production centers might speedily bring victory.

Long before the actual outbreak of hostilities, magazine articles and roving lecturers had filled the minds of Americans with lurid pictures of what would happen, in case of war, to the flimsy cities of Japan. At that time, to be sure, the prophets were expecting that these holocausts would be spread by American bombers operating from the Philippines, or from the decks of carriers protected by great fleets plowing majestically westward from Hawaii. These expected American advantages have been wiped out by the bitter realities of the war. But the Japanese cities are still there, with their wooden houses still divided by paper screens. They are still the same vast, sprawling firetraps revealed at Tokyo and Yokohama in the great earthquake of 1923. If Germany hoped to win by knocking out London or the cities of the Midlands, if England hoped to win by bombing the Ruhr and the Rhineland, what might not be accomplished by raining fire and high explosives on the matchwood cities of Japan?

That is the question which every amateur strategist in America has been asking ever since the day war was declared. The air raid on Tokyo and its three sister cities is a first indication that this question may soon be answered. To be sure, the results of this first raid are unknown. The Japanese, as might be expected, try to minimize them. They insist that no military damage was done; that only civilian objectives were hit. But such targets as those four great cities can hardly have got off lightly. And if they did, what has been done once can be done again, and if necessary again and again and again until all these cities have been leveled to the ground, until all their factories are a mass of twisted steel and ruined machinery, until all the homes of all the workers in those factories have gone up in flames, until all Japan is pounded into helpless rubble.

All this is, of course, the military way of looking at the bombing of Tokyo. And in war what other way is there in which to look than the military way? Certainly the Japanese have least reason of any nation to complain if the United States uses its air forces to blast their cities. Anyone who has seen the newsreels knows what Japanese bombers have done to Shanghai, to Changsha, to Chungking. Assuredly they will do the same to San Francisco, to Los Angeles, to Seattle if they can. So much is this to be taken for granted in warfare that the day after Tokyo was bombed OCD Commissioner Landis warned the block captains in Chicago to be on the alert against reprisal raids. It is simply the fortune of war, and not any difference in the methods by which the nations are fighting, which is responsible for the fact that American planes have begun to drop bombs on Japanese cities while Japanese generals have to be content with wishing that their planes could be dropping bombs on American cities.

Nevertheless, there were undoubtedly thousands—yes, millions—of Americans who heard of the bombing of Tokyo with anything but rejoicing. Try to reason about it as they might, they turned away from the newspaper headlines or the radio's feverish bulletins with heavy hearts. Many of them sought to satisfy themselves with reminders of "military necessity." But that sickish feeling at the pit of the stomach, that irrepressible beating of forbidden thoughts at the base of the brain, persisted. What of the people in those tinder-box houses? What of the simple old women, many of them already bowed before the shrines which hold the white boxes filled with the ashes of their soldier sons? What of the children, perhaps caught clacking along the streets in their doll-like

kimonos? What if one of those bombs had fallen on Kagawa, who lives in Tokyo, as many a Japanese bomb has fallen on faithful and peace-loving Christians in China?

Questions of that kind seem to have found their way even into the editorial chambers of such a staid newspaper as the *New York Times*. "In this attack we shall doubtless destroy," it admits, "many civilian lives and much civilian property. It is an unhappy business, but it is necessary business; for it is an inescapable part of total war, and we cannot and will not shrink from giving the heaviest blows we can deliver." Then, as if to reinforce a suddenly faltering resolution, the editor of the *Times* catalogues once more the infamies of the Japanese militarists and declares: "We cannot soften our blows because we fear that they may injure Japanese who are not actually in arms against us. It is no hypocrisy to say that we must press the attack home with all our force in the interest of these Japanese themselves."

Yes, all that the *Times* says about total war is true. But the questions with which its editor was obviously wrestling are the questions with which millions of the rest of us are wrestling. They are questions which rise with especial tensity in the minds of thoughtful men and women who profess and call themselves Christians. And they are questions which reflections about total war will not lay to rest.

Christians in Great Britain have been wrestling with these same questions ever since aerial bombing assumed such an important role in the warfare their nation is waging. That great Christian soul, Dr. J. H. Oldham, whose *Christian News-Letter* has done more than any other single agency to try to discover a rationale for Christians in this bitter hour, sought to draw a line between permissible and forbidden kinds of bombing in an issue of his paper published last October:

> Are bombing and machine-gunning to be directed to "everything moving"? Children, for example? Or is this a "dirty business" with which we may not soil our hands? That seems to me the crucial issue. . . . The justification of this war is that it is in essence a large-scale police measure—an attempt to maintain a true order against anarchy and tyranny. But if that is what it really is, then, as in all police measures, greater violence must not be used than is necessary to achieve the purpose in view. To go beyond that is murder. Policemen and soldiers can in the exercise of their calling commit murder and, if they do, are liable to punishment. Neither the justice of our cause nor the crimes of our enemies are a justification for committing murder.

To Dr. Oldham bombing becomes something which the Christian cannot defend when it passes into "the immoral infliction of indiscriminate and meaningless slaughter."

But the trouble is that actual bombing, under the conditions which warfare imposes upon the aviator, must always be to a considerable degree indiscriminate. To what degree can a flyer operating at, say, twenty thousand feet altitude pick his targets? William L. White, the American correspondent, put that question to R.A.F. pilots in England about a year ago. One of them told him that if he would drop an ordinary sized book at his feet and then look down at it he would see what, approximately, London looks like to the crew of a bomber when viewed from the heights at which the bombers are usually forced to fly in clear weather. The difficulty of picking targets at night is of course even greater. Under such circumstances, what becomes of the effort to draw a line between discriminate and indiscriminate bombing? No, the Christian mind can find slight reassurance here. In actual war it is idle to try to put a check upon the way in which weapons are used. If we fight at all, we fight all out. And fighting all out will involve many things which will drive the introspective mind and the kindly spirit into long nights of harassed thought.

It is all a part of the hell of war. So long as we are in war we are in hell. And here we can only commit to the mercy of God those upon whom the bombs may fall, and those who release them toward a scarcely seen mark, and not least of all those of us who have willed that they shall be released.

Citizens or Subjects?

WHEN the war is over, Americans may discover that in the early months of the conflict democracy received its most staggering blows in their own country and not at Pearl Harbor or on Bataan. Actions taken under the guise of military necessity have already deprived numbers of the citizens of this democracy of their constitutionally guaranteed equality before the law. Essential democratic rights have been infringed and racial distinctions placed above law. A principle of discrimination has been invoked which will, if allowed to stand, divide our citizenship into classes and bring into question the basic presuppositions on which this nation was founded.

As this is written, more than one hundred thousand persons are being moved from their homes in the Pacific coast states to concentration camps in the interior. More than one-half of this number are American citizens. They were born in this country and have never lived in any other. They owe allegiance to no other nation. They speak our language, have been educated in our schools, accept our customs, pay taxes, vote and render military service. Until recently there was never any question that they were entitled to the exercise of the full rights of citizenship under the Constitution. In its fifth and its fourteenth amendments, that Constitution provides that "no person may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Now, without resort to established legal procedures and without a proclamation of martial law which would suspend those processes, these citizens are being deprived of liberty and are suffering the loss of property. A presidential order authorizing military commanders to remove from defense areas any person whose presence is deemed by them inimical to defense has been used as authority for the compulsory evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent from a great zone running the length of the Pacific coast. No hearings or other procedure under the law are available to these tens of thousands of citizens to protect them from the loss of their liberty. They are being treated

exactly as though they were enemy aliens. The speed of the evacuation and the cupidity of some of their white neighbors have caused them to suffer large losses of property. They have no means of redress. On the sole ground of their racial origin they have been deprived of the protection of the constitutional guarantees which have been set up as the inalienable safeguard of every citizen.

How far may this sort of thing be expected to go? What assurance is there that other classes of citizens may not on the same or some other basis have their rights suspended or canceled tomorrow? What happens to democracy when whole blocks of our population may summarily be thrown into segregated classes of citizenship?

The answer may not be as far to seek as we suppose. The establishment of classes of citizenship has already proceeded much further than is commonly recognized. We Americans, who have pointed with such scorn at the nazis for their reduction of the Jews to a status of secondary citizenship in Germany, need to wake up to the fact that citizenship in this country has already been divided into four distinct classes, with a fifth in prospect.

The first class citizen of this nation, whose Declaration of Independence declared "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," is the white whose economic status is such that he is free to vote no matter where he may happen to live. He is a citizen in the full democratic sense of the term. He participates in government in several ways and is, in theory at least, an unquestioned recipient of all the civil guarantees of the Bill of Rights. He holds these rights, not as a subject who owes fealty to an overhead power which is the modern counterpart of the feudal lord, but as a fully competent and equal member of a commonwealth which is governed by the will of the majority of its citizens.

The second class citizen of the United States is the white person who is denied the franchise by the imposition of the poll tax qualification on voting. In most of the southern states no white person is permitted to vote who has not paid in full the poll tax which is assessed against every adult. Since the tax is cumulative, a few years of non-payment confronts the prospective voter with an impossible problem. The dominant majority, who have a vested interest in keeping control of government in their own hands, oppose all efforts to remove the tax limitation on the exercise of the franchise. Consequently a large proportion of southern white tenant farmers have sunk to the status of second class citizens. They have no voice in the government. In a precise sense of the term, they are subjects, not citizens.

Color prejudice creates a third and a fourth class of citizenship. Although the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution specifically states that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," manipulation of the primary election laws and threats of violence to violators of racial taboos effectively bar Negroes from using their right to vote throughout the south. Southern Negroes therefore constitute a third class of citizenship. They are also subjected to other disabilities, being generally barred from jury service even where the interests of a member of their own race are concerned and suffering gross discrimination in educational and other rights.

The fourth class of citizenship has just been created. Solely on the ground of their race, more than fifty thousand citizens of Japanese descent are being confined to concentration camps. In spite of the fact that the federal government has assumed protective custody of farms and homes, they have suffered huge losses. No matter what conditions they find at the Owens Valley or other concentration points, for an indefinite future they will not have as much liberty as Indians confined on a reservation. Like Indians they must depend on the bounty of the government. What will happen to these fourth class citizens after the war is a matter of conjecture. Already there is a strong movement on the west coast to deny them the opportunity ever to return to their former homes. With other states refusing them admittance, there is grave danger that they may become our American pariahs, like the untouchables of India, occupying the lowest level in the caste stratification of what was once a democracy.

The possible emergence of still a fifth class of citizenship is threatened by the attempt of the department of justice to revoke the citizenship of naturalized citizens whose patriotism has become suspect since they were admitted to citizenship. The only basis allowed in law for revocation of naturalization—proof of fraud at the time of naturalization—is not being invoked. Instead a number of indictments have been obtained which amount to a prosecution for the expression of an opinion. By holding the threat of cancellation of citizenship over the heads of persons who express opinions which are not in accord with the views of the government which happens to be in power, these prosecutions will go far to intimidate a vast segment of our population under the belief that they stand in a different classification from the native-born, that their citizenship is held only tentatively and can be revoked at the pleasure of the powers that be. No group held in fear of such penalties can develop democratic vitality.

The meaning of this trend is clear. If this segmentation of our citizenship continues, it will produce for the nation as a whole a condition which already prevails in certain sections of the country. Minority rule, with all its concomitants of emotional exploitation, economic and educational discrimination, and its final dependence on terrorism, will succeed government which truly seeks to be of all the people, by all the people and for all the people. Inexorably we shall progress toward rule by a favored class, toward the extension and defense of the privileges of an elite, until the very claim that this is a democracy has been reduced to mockery.

That must not happen. We must not allow this United States of America, land of our devotion, to be split up into a miserable welter of divisions, with first class citizens looking down on seconds, second class sneering at thirds, and so on down the gradations of a caste system until the outcastes huddle at the bottom in their misery, like the Jews in Hitler's Reich. Wise citizens will therefore reject the counsels of those who have been frightened into such actions as have occurred on the west coast and cast about to see what can be done to remedy the situation while

there is yet time. It is not too late to reverse this trend, and courageous action can do it.

The most intelligent suggestion which has yet been made comes from the American Civil Liberties Union. It urges the immediate establishment of hearing boards, both in the concentration camps and in the proscribed zones, to give each individual citizen an opportunity to establish his right to liberty. There, before an impartial body of his peers, with the democratic presumption of his innocence until he is proved guilty, with rules of evidence acceptable to established legal procedure, he could state his case. If this were done, even at this late date, the word democracy would take on a new significance not only in this country but abroad. And if we thus averted the establishment of a fourth class of citizenship, we could then proceed to a reduction of the barriers which stand in the way of the third and second class as members of the American community.

If there are those who complacently assume that a stratified citizenship is desirable, whether democratic or not, let them read the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence and tremble.

On Addressing Strangers

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Today I was coming home from my afternoon walk when a stranger addressed me. "Cold day, mate," he said. He was busy delivering bread with what the hymn calls "a cheerful zeal." I heartily agreed, and passed on.

I never saw him before, and may not see him again, but I was glad to be called "mate." The word seemed to have the right touch. It belonged to a social order yet to be in which men would look upon their fellows as busy on a common enterprise and every man would be a mate to every other man, as miners are who work in one pit or sailors who go down to the sea in the same ship.

That greeting had the air of prophecy about it, or perhaps of unconscious protest against things as they are. Then I saw the day far ahead in which the head of the concern would walk off, when the day's work was over, arm-in-arm with his mate, the janitor who was once at school with him.

"Mate" seemed the right word for a stranger. I should not have felt comfortable if he had called me "brother." That has too ecclesiastical a reference. Nor should I have liked "friend," a word which should be reserved for a more defined relationship. I agree with you that "mate" may have the full meaning of friend, but it need not. Do you remember Kipling's moving lines:

> Kabul town's by Kabul river,
> (Blow the bugle, draw the sword)
> There I left my mate forever
> Wet and drippin' by the ford.

There it is clear that "mate" means all that a friend can be. But it can be used more generally of those who are busy in some common job, and that should be enough to justify the greeting of that unknown man. He and I are in the same factory, and busy upon the same job.

But the choice of words to be used in addressing strangers is wide. There is a university in which it used to be, and probably is still, the custom to address fellow members who are strangers as "sir." On the football field I once heard the words, "Damn you, sir, don't shove"—a remarkable example of the triumph of politeness over difficulties. That is certainly a useful convention, but a little lacking in color and warmth.

One friend of mine solves the difficulty in a way which is delightful for him, dangerous for others. When he stops to inquire the way he addresses the nearest man as "professor" or "general" or "bishop." They always greet him with a smile, for he has a way with him, and I have no doubt when the man arrives home and has his family about him he tells of a "funny chap, bit of a caution he was, who called me professor." He laughs, and they laugh with him, and it is a good deed to increase the laughter of a family.

I suggest that we might follow the lead of that word "mate," and try to think of each other as fellow workers in one big enterprise. When St. Paul called a man a "fellow worker" would the word have the associations of "mate"? I am certain that the men who builded the gates of the wall of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah so spoke of each other. To fill a chapter with the names of workers is a great tribute to the artisan. It is a direct snub to the black-coated snob who thinks it is an inferior occupation to make things rather than to list them in books.

Anyhow, when Ezer met Baruch who "earnestly repaired the other piece," he addressed him as "mate." For there is nothing like work upon a common job to bring men together.

My grandson, then between three and four, clad in dungarees, spent some happy mornings with the men building a house near by. For two days he was reluctantly kept at home through a cold, and two of the men came across to ask what had happened to their "mate." That is the spirit.

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Pilgrims' Progress

BACK, toward the sun, the upland slopes
Lie ripe with labor of a frontier plow—
The brighter, that our young and faltering hopes
Turn back to look their final parting now.
With new, drawn steel we drop below the rim,
Breathless to catch the others' journeying
Down the long valley, and the road is dim
Beneath the shadow of Apollyon's wing.
We walk into a rising wind of cries—
Hate, anguish, out of bloody-clotted mire;
We too must fill our sun-forgetting eyes
With evil spirits and the blasting fire.
With us the wisest prophet cannot tell
If this dark valley leads to peace—or hell.

PHILIP H. GRAY, JR.

Victory Must Begin at Home!

By Robert Maynard Hutchins

WE ARE NOW ENGAGED in total war on all the seas and continents of the world. We have already begun to feel the effects of it in loss of life and in the loss of those comforts which have characterized what we have called American civilization.

I

I cannot prescribe the methods by which we can win this war. But I can suggest how we may lose it. We may lose it, in the first place, by relying on productivity, resources, machines and numbers. We can win a statistical victory and suffer a military defeat. Mr. Willkie in the last campaign said that if we were productive we should be strong and sought the suffrages of his fellow citizens on the ground that Republicans were more productive than Democrats. Certainly to be strong we must be productive; but it does not follow that if we are productive we shall be strong. Equipment does not guarantee victory. We must also have the intelligence and character to use it with effect. In spite of the technological changes that have transformed warfare since Plato's day, he was closer to the truth than Mr. Willkie when he said that goodness, by which he meant intelligence and character, was the best weapon a state could have. Another remark of Plato is worth remembering, too. "The due reward," he said, "of an idle beast fattened in sloth is, as a rule, to fall a prey to another beast—one of those which are worn to skin and bone through toil hardily endured."

We can lose the war, too, by selecting the wrong aims, or by being confused or half-hearted about the ones we select. We can and shall lose the war if we are fighting simply for what we are used to. We shall have to sacrifice so much of what we are used to that we cannot be sustained by comparing what we might lose through defeat with what we are losing through war. To say that we have been attacked and must defend ourselves is no answer. France is the most recent illustration of the truism that disunity, stupidity and lack of conviction can undermine the will to resist even in the face of the invader.

II

It is sometimes said that we are fighting for survival. But this war will be long, hard and bloody. Those who are animated only by a desire to survive may sooner or later propose that it is better to buy survival than to die for it.

Or it is said that we are fighting because we can't do business with Hitler. So a prominent educator remarked before the war that we should have to fight Japan in order to get rubber for our tires. But those who think we are fighting for business and tires may sometime propose that it would be better business to find somebody else to do business with and that it would be cheaper and more comfortable to buy rubber from the Japanese than to fight through total war to total victory for the privilege of buying it from the British and the Dutch.

Or it is said that we are to take charge of the world and run it at a profit, perhaps allowing England, Russia and China a share. But our question is how the fighting spirit of our people can be maintained. To establish American imperialism we should have to engage in perpetual war; for even after the defeat of our present enemies new ones, perhaps among our present allies, would arise to throw off the Yankee yoke. Perpetual war throughout the world can be carried on only with enormous forces prepared to die for the profits to be sent home as a result of their depredations. If, moreover, we believe that it is bad for the world to be enslaved to Germany and Japan, how can we believe that it is good for it to be enslaved to us? It may even be bad for us, for there may be something in the Christian and Platonic doctrine that it is worse to inflict wrong than to suffer it.

III

None of these aims will do. There is only one that will. The spirit of our people can be maintained only if we believe that we are fighting to realize here and abroad the aspirations which we have cherished but have never attained, the aspirations toward freedom, democracy and the supremacy of human rights. I will go farther and say that the war will be lost unless the peoples of the world believe that this is our aim. If they are bound to be exploited or destroyed, it can make little difference to them whether they are exploited or destroyed by us or by the Germans and the Japanese. If they are convinced and we are convinced, we may hope to gain them to our cause and may ourselves endure to the end.

Conviction implies understanding. A sentimental humanitarianism, a vague utopianism is no better—in fact, it is far worse—than frank imperialism. Frank imperialism has at least the merit of being frank. Sentimental humanitarianism conceals a feeling of superiority which is readily translated into the assertion of the right to do good by force. This finally means that we shall be kind to other people as long as they serve our interests. Asiatic peoples have a particular reason for viewing with concern the humanitarian gestures of the Western powers.

Conviction cannot rest on such pious views as those of a writer in the current *Atlantic Monthly* who says that we should be for democracy even if it had, intellectually, not a leg to stand on. Nor can it be supported by such opinions as that of an eminent Columbia professor, who has said that we should be for democracy, not because we know it is good, but because we feel that it is good for us. We have never had to pay very much for democracy in the past. We are going to have to pay for it now. If we are for it merely because we are accustomed to it, we may decide that the price is too high.

Freedom, democracy and human rights become mere propaganda phrases, and are properly distrusted as such, unless they are employed with that conviction which results from understanding. Freedom can be the emptiest

of all words. Freedom of speech is empty unless we have something to say. Freedom of worship is empty if we know no god to worship. And what good are freedom from want and freedom from fear if we have no idea what to do with our money or our security? If freedom is doing what you please, it is not merely empty; it is dangerous. The will to self-realization becomes the will to power, and freedom ends in slavery.

So it is with democracy. If what you mean by democracy is the sum total of the prejudices of the American people, the American "way of life," upon which we are embarked because of the geography, climate and social forces which have played upon us, there is no reason why other people, who have basked in other suns, been buffeted by other breezes and baffled by other social forces, should welcome the armed missionaries of the United States. And unless we believe and can show we believe that the human rights for which we are fighting are the rights of all human beings, including the Germans and the Japanese, we must confess that justice is the interest of the stronger and that might makes right. When we have made this confession we have lost the war.

IV

Human rights rest on human dignity. The dignity of man is an ideal worth fighting for and worth dying for. It is so not, as William James would have said, because it satisfies our habits or emotions, but because it is true, and we can know it is true. Human dignity rests on evident propositions about the kind of animal man is. He is, though an animal, a rational and spiritual being. His minimum animal needs must be met if he is to live at all, but he cannot live a human life unless he has the chance to fulfill the immense want of his rational and spiritual nature. This is what Plato meant when he said, "We differ from most people in not regarding mere safety and existence as the most precious thing men can possess, but rather the gaining of all possible goodness and the keeping of it throughout life."

Men are essentially interdependent. It is clear enough that to sustain life they must live in society. It is just as clear that they must live in society to achieve the aspirations of their rational and spiritual nature. Man is not inherently selfish, actuated alone by the principle of self-preservation and the desire for material security. Law and government answer to the needs of our common human nature and are established to help each of us in our own lives meet those needs. They are not imposed upon the individual wholly from without, with no sanction but that of force. They are necessary accompaniments of human co-existence.

Democracy is the best form of government because it is built upon these principles. It is the only form of government that is founded on the dignity of man, not the dignity of some men, of rich men, of educated men or of white men, but of all men. Its sanction is not the sanction of force, but the sanction of human nature. Equality and justice, the two great distinguishing characteristics of democracy, follow inevitably from the conception of men, all men, as rational and spiritual beings.

In this light freedom takes on meaning. It is not freedom to do as we please but freedom to achieve that autonomy which we approach in proportion as we develop our rational and spiritual nature. It is not mere freedom to live that concerns us most, but freedom to live human lives. Men must be free to exercise those powers which make them men.

V

These things we must believe if we are not to lose the war. We must do more than believe them; we must show that we believe them. We might as well begin now. We might as well begin at home. And we might as well begin with ourselves. The outcome of the war and the nature of the peace will be determined by the character and ideals of the victors. Only a democratic country can win a democratic victory and make a democratic peace. But the character and ideals of a country are the character and ideals of the people who inhabit it. And their character and ideals, in turn, are determined by their convictions. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." The common complaint is that the only thing a citizen can do who is not in the armed forces is to buy bonds. But one contribution to victory we can all make: each of us can develop his own intelligence and his own character to the end that we may all understand and be devoted to freedom, democracy and the supremacy of human rights everywhere.

I am not so naive as to assume that the American people can become good overnight, or that if they try and fail they will lose the war and lose the peace. The question is rather what are the ideals that we set before us and how sincere and serious is the effort we make to achieve them. The words I have used are words on which we have all been brought up. I am suggesting merely that they should be neither slogans nor opiates. They must give life to the life of every one of us and set the goal toward which we must struggle not in the future alone, but now.

The conviction and demonstration which the times require are not esoteric, abstruse or difficult. All men, whether they admit it or not, whether they use it or not, are endowed with the natural light of reason. And all men, since they are spiritual as well as rational, are burdened with conscience. They do not need to be told that war calls for equality of sacrifice and that neither capital nor labor can be allowed to extract profit from a process which is sending thousands of men to their deaths. They do not need to be told that racial and religious discrimination in the army, navy and war industries is undemocratic. They do not need to be told that rural slums and urban slums are undemocratic or that the condition of those on public relief is as undemocratic as it was before the war. They do not need to be told that it is undemocratic to organize pressure groups to obtain or protect special privileges. They do not need to be told that it is undemocratic to arrange the distribution of educational opportunity so that the child in the poor state gets little compared with the child in the rich state, the child of a poor family gets little compared with the child of a rich family, and the Negro child gets little compared with the white. They do not need to be told that they are not cultivating the powers that make men democratic when they are reading cheap literature or listening to cheap radio programs or gazing,

open-mouthed and stupefied, at cheap movies or big headlines. They do not need to be told that they are not cultivating the powers that make men democratic when they are actively or passively conniving at the cheating, oppression or exploitation of their fellow men.

We can try to establish the good society here and now. The effort is not expensive. It will not divert the country from its military endeavors. Unless we make it, our military endeavors will fail. We are accustomed to the doctrine that mere defensive military operations cannot win a war. It is just as true that mere defensive social, economic and political operations, mere defense of the status quo, will lose a war. It will also lose the peace. An international organization, without a change of heart, would be the greatest prize of greed and ambition, and hence the most alarming portent of universal destruction, that the world has ever seen. We need a new order for America. We need a new order for the world. If we do not provide it, Hitler will. Men who do not want to live like beasts must make up their minds to live like men.

Emancipation for the Machine

XII. How Shall the Christian Church Prepare for the New World Order? (Part II)

By John Middleton Murry

THE QUESTION—the radical and perturbing question—is how a society of toleration can maintain itself against this new concentration of energy in a national society, taking conscious form in a conviction of historical mission. Both Germany and Russia conceive it to be their historical mission to change the world, and both may have the power to do it. Perhaps it is by divine providence that they are engaged in attempting this against each other. Perhaps the significance of that titanic struggle is that it gives us of the Anglo-Saxon or tolerant tradition a breathing space—a respite in which we may become conscious of our own mission.

That mission must be to maintain in being a society of toleration. But that is a problem of a new kind, of which the elements and urgency are ignored when we speak of it as "the defense of liberty." The real problem is to reconcile the practice of toleration and liberty with such a liberation of the machine as will enable us to develop a physical energy comparable with that of the totalitarian societies. That is the physical problem. There is a corresponding spiritual problem: to determine the purpose for which our energy, if it can be released, shall be employed—to decide whether we also wish to change the world, and into what we wish to change it.

A World Order Impossible

Probably we should all agree that we would like to change the world into a world of ordered peace. But that is far too vague. What that really means is a world society of toleration. Since the dynamic at present belongs to the intolerant societies, it is probably impossible to create such a society. And anyhow the chance of imposing toleration upon the world would depend upon the achievement of world power—and in the effort to achieve so vast an aim, calling for such a titanic organization and expenditure of energy, it is practically certain that toleration itself would be destroyed.

So it seems that the problem narrows down to the problem whether the Anglo-Saxon societies can, without sacrifice of their internal principle of toleration, so liberate the productive capacity of the machine that they can develop energy enough to maintain their defense against the intolerant societies, which have used intolerance to release the machine. This conception of the Anglo-Saxon mission has manifest and immediate corollaries for the strategy of the war. It seems to point directly to a reliance on sea power and a deliberate rejection of all strategies which require a vast development of land power, if only because we need to restrict the demands on the Anglo-Saxon energies to the minimum compatible with the defense of our tolerant societies. That minimum is prodigious enough, in all conscience. It will tax all our moral energies to provide it without doing fatal injury to the practice and the principle of internal toleration.

Sea Power and Tolerance

And over and above this simple consideration is the fact that it is behind the shelter of sea power that the liberties and toleration of the Anglo-Saxon societies have historically developed. The privilege of sea power has enabled them to avoid the curse of permanent military organization, and the constant threat to free institutions which such organization involves. If we blindly sacrifice that privileged position in the pursuit of policies which, even if successful, will create a situation in which the maintenance of our own free and tolerant society is no longer possible, we shall annihilate our own significance for the world. We shall be meeting the challenge to our own potentiality of creative response to what is perhaps the greatest crisis in the history of man like irrational animals, not like creatures endowed with godlike reason.

For the problem is not, as many people take it to be, to maintain the machinery of political democracy in war. That is preserved by running it at a good deal less than half-speed. The problem is to insure a situation after the war in which political democracy can function, or at least to avoid a situation in which it cannot function—a situation in which violence is the only visible remedy. The word peace means something emotionally, however little it may describe the brute fact of the post-war situation. The primitive urge of millions of conscripted men to enjoy the freedom they have been fighting for will be disastrous

to a political system incapable of satisfying them, whose representatives have neither taken thought how to satisfy them nor warned them that they cannot be satisfied.

The Day of Reckoning

After all, this Anglo-Saxon democracy, this society of toleration and freedom, is the most civilized polity the modern world has produced. It is, as we have conceded, at least the necessary foundation of a Christian society. If this cannot be preserved, we may put out of our minds any advance towards a more Christian society for generations to come. Yet, unless it undergoes a creative change and permits a liberation of the machine, it cannot achieve a dynamic comparable to that of the totalitarian societies. Abstractly, the line of advance is a liberation of the machine by genuine consent—and some imagine that that is actually being enforced upon us by the war. But in reality it is not so at all. War socialism, as it is called, is a profound distortion of the economy of a peaceful society. The effort to correct it will need to be very resolute and very enlightened if post-war violence is to be avoided. At present in Britain and America we are simply postponing the day of reckoning with the machine, and accumulating intolerable tensions for the future.

It sounds extravagant, and it is unfortunately discordant with the ethos of democracy, nevertheless the truth is that if we wish to retain a society of freedom and toleration after the war we have to plan for its retention deliberately and resolutely now. Perhaps the task is, even objectively, too great. But without a conscious awareness that the task exists and is urgent, it is subjectively quite impossible of achievement. Yet if the task is not deliberately formulated and attempted, the condition of disillusion that will follow the war will be fierce indeed—so fierce that any conceivable new ordering of the world which depends upon our participation and support will collapse immediately, because the support will not be there. The water of the spring of world renewal will disappear in the cleft of revolution; only the dry and barren rock will remain.

The task is not the planning of a more Christian society than we have. It is planning how to retain those elements of a Christian society which we have already achieved, and which by common consent we are now engaged in defending. Nevertheless, it is true that if we really set about the task on which we are all agreed we should find ourselves compelled to create a more Christian society than the one we have—a society which at least fulfilled the standards of the Christian leaders. The root of our trouble is that it occurs only to a tiny minority that to defend democracy, as a society of toleration and freedom, is now become a definite, specific and most difficult task.

A Dangerous Illusion

It is almost universally taken for granted that it will have been successfully defended if only we can beat Hitler; if we can destroy Hitlerism, by that very fact our society of toleration will have been successfully defended. No illusion is more widespread, and none more dangerous. It is entirely the other way about. If we can insure the continuance of a free and tolerant society, by conscious and creative action, we may eventually destroy Hitlerism. Hitlerism is only a particular variety of totalitarianism. To beat Hitler only to discover that there is no remedy for our ensuing plight but totalitarianism would destroy our influence in the world for a century. We should have sunk "beneath the level of history."

To be honest about ourselves, the democracies have been dragged at the chariot-wheels of history for at least a dozen years. No decisive or creative act has come from them, no symbolic or significant initiative. Whether or not the round world believes that they will win, it certainly does not believe that they will know what to do if they do win. Its skepticism is justified; for what they will do depends upon what they will be, and they show no sign of taking serious thought about that. Parliament—in Britain, anyhow—is engrossed with the fight for survival. True, but the issue is the survival of Parliament. The church is engrossed with the defeat of anti-Christ. True, but the issue is the survival of the church. For the church in the world of today is a minority group. Its freedom depends, not on its own sanctity, but on the existence of a civil society of freedom and toleration. It should strive to bridge the gap between its abstract principles and the concrete present by pondering the conditions of its own existence as something more august than a persecuted remnant.

Has the Church a Dynamic?

Perhaps Christianity is incapable of a counter-dynamic to the totalitarian. It is important to realize that the tolerant society was established less by positive Christianity than by negative, less by the will to love than by deprival of the opportunity to hate. Possibly the Christian church takes the tolerant society for granted, because it did so little positively to achieve it. It will rue the loss of it nonetheless. So it should be deeply concerned to discover and release a counter-dynamic, if one can be found.

The clamor for the revival of religious education is beside the mark unless it means an entirely new kind of religious education. The dynamic of totalitarianism is not so much mental as socio-physiological. The only kind of Christian education that is relevant is an education into the reality of a modern industrial society, into the necessity of releasing the machines from the impediment of individualism. Unless that release is planned by an act of creative and discriminating imagination, it will come automatically, as a convulsive reaction to a situation produced by inertia. Then the machine will triumph not over individualism merely—that is probably its mission—but over the individual as well.

The next article in this series will be by Hugh Stevenson Tigner of the Universalist Church, Canton, New York.

Crossroads

NOT London, not New York, not Singapore;
No giant fortress, neither feverish mart:
The crossroads of the world forevermore?
The human heart.

AMY S. BRIDGMAN.

The Practice of the Presence

By Gerald Heard

"THE Practice of the Presence" is again a popular phrase. It is being recommended as a palliative if not a cure for many of our internal and external troubles. But if we are to put any weight on it we needs must understand what it is and how it is done. It is a recipe which has had a long popularity. During the seventeenth century it was almost the sovereign specific for spiritual distress of every sort. Perhaps nothing could show its universal appeal better than the fact that Richelieu, that arch power-politician, wrote a little book on it, advocating its extraordinary efficacy. At the other end we have the extreme Quietists saying the same thing. That Richelieu with all the active church persecuted the Quietists while they on their part declared that most of the practices of the church were unnecessary and even obstacles, shows that there must have been considerable confusion of terms.

Nor when we come to the book to which the phrase owes most of its popularity with most moderns—Brother Lawrence's *Practice of the Presence of God*—is the difficulty elucidated. Lawrence, it is clear, did not think of himself as a precise teacher and he took for granted that all he said would be taken in the framework of Catholic theology. It is necessary to stress this, for study will show that two standards are recommended in the book—the one is easy, the other produces the extraordinary results that made people want to consult Lawrence. These two standards present no difficulty to a Catholic. He is familiar with the doctrine of the two lives—the lower life of action and the higher of contemplation, the lower of life in the world and the higher of life "dead to the world."

Life on Two Levels

The Lawrence letter where he says that the young soldier will be able to make a satisfactory practice if now and then on the march he remembers God and makes a motion of the will toward him is written with this, the lower life, in view. The young man will be doing enough, with confession, absolution and the sacraments, to secure that he will not go to hell. But he will go to purgatory and will have a stiff time of it there. For all that he might have done in this life—which, as St. John of the Cross teaches, he might have done with far greater ease in this life by giving up his days wholly to religion—must then be done. God is not mocked.

The remainder of the letters are written for those who intend to do their utmost in this life to attain to the Presence of God, for they realize it was for that they were created and are in the world. The instruction, or at least the practice, here indicated is very severe.

Still, again, careless reading may make one unaware of this. If however we turn to an authority who is not writing a few brief letters, mainly of encouragement to people who have fully equipped spiritual directors, but is issuing a careful manual on prayer, then we cannot escape seeing something quite startling. The Practice of the Presence is indeed commended as an admirable and necessary practice. But it is said to be of great difficulty and to come late in the spiritual life. Let anyone seriously try it and he will discover this is so.

Spiritual Discipline Not Easy

Augustine Baker, in his manual of prayer called *Holy Wisdom,* states that until the mind has long been trained by careful practices in the actual hours of prayer, so to keep the mind on God during the time when one is occupied with other things is almost impossible. He says that for any beginner to claim that he or she can so do is either for them to deceive themselves or for them utterly to confuse their thought and action. What then is to be done? Teresa's advice is quoted, "We cannot become perfect in a day." We must begin by making "virtual" acts or resolutions when we come out of prayer that we will preserve the frame of mind, the scale of values which we had in prayer.

That is the advice of a famous director of the nineteenth century, Père Lebermann. Both he and Baker, however, note that this frame of mind will be undergoing a steady distortion while we are occupied in worldly things, even if those things be not spiritually harmful. We should therefore be with other people who are trying to do the same thing. We must remember that the vast mass of people think such behavior odd and irrational. That suggestion works in our minds and gradually destroys our conviction of the reality of the spiritual world. We are like the man in Jack London's famous story, "To Make a Fire." We are out in a subzero temperature and if we travel alone we may be spiritually frost-bitten before we know it. We become numb and in a little while our whole spiritual life may be in acute danger. We lack the power to rekindle our faith by ourselves.

To Carry the Glow

The only way then that these experts recommend for attaining to that constant circulation between God and the soul is for the beginner never to leave himself too far from a time of definite prayer. He cannot yet carry the flame with him; but from one fire to another, if they are not too far apart, he can carry a glow. It is for this reason that those who attained to this Practice warn us of a temptation which the thought of the Practice may hold for us. We may think of it as an alternative to regular prayer. This they hold to be deadly. We shall think we can Practice the Presence, we shall stop therefore our careful prayer times and quite quickly we shall find that we have stopped our feeble attempt to Practice Presence. We are then in deadly danger.

How then are we to carry over from one time of prayer to the next? François de Sales makes a recommendation which he found to work when he was attaining this state. He took from his prayer some thought or phrase and this, like a tuning fork, he kept ringing in his mind. With the help of this he was able to judge whether he was "going

off key." When this practice has become fairly regular it is found that, though it seems mechanical, something living is being sown in the depth of the mind. The real task would seem to be to find a method whereby the reverie level of the mind, instead of day-dreaming about itself, will be directed to God.

Studies in industrial psychology have shown that this level of the mind continues its line of thought even when the surface mind is outwardly occupied in skilled work. Probably this background of thinking, this climate of the mind, is present following its own currents whatever our surface minds are doing. This type of thought does not get in the way of practical action. Indeed, it has been shown that provided this reverie is content about its own business, the critical intelligence can be directed with greater force and freedom onto the outer world. For this happy basic feeling-tone leaves the man free from self-concern to throw himself into his work.

But this basic feeling-tone, industrial psychology has also shown, is less and less often found to be cheerful. We are most of us distracted by self-pity and ego-commiseration. There would be very practical value therefore if we could make this undertow of the mind less of a drain upon our energy. It is precisely this that the Practice of the Presence yields as its preliminary benefit.

Still, even to gain that state is difficult. How are we to influence this willful, powerful and childish level? There is only one way. It is deaf to argument but open to reiteration. Further, certain times are more favorable than others. It pays to reserve some time in the very early morning when first waking and late at night just before falling to sleep, to expose that level, which is then near the surface, to the light of God. The method is slow, but it is unfailing. It can be greatly hastened by modifying our habits of life so that in every way they will be in accord with that Presence which we wish to keep consciously with us. For in the end Ruysbroek has the last word, "Ye can be as holy as ye will."

Abdication at Washington

By Oswald Garrison Villard

SENATOR C. WAYLAND BROOKS' great plurality in the Illinois Republican primary has been soft-pedaled by the press in the east as much as possible, but its importance has not been misunderstood in Washington. This was the first state to go to the polls since the country went to war; and since the senator's isolationist record and that of his chief supporter, the *Chicago Tribune,* were both assailed by his Republican adversary, the outcome obviously cannot give comfort to those who interpret American morale in terms of the public's approval of the administration's war policy. In addition, Washington has not forgotten that in two recent elections for Congress the Republicans captured two seats that had been held by the Democrats for years. One of them, the Fourth Colorado District, had been held by the Democrats since its creation in 1914; the other was the Fifth Connecticut District, which had been carried by the Democrats for ten successive years.

Congressmen and senators who are returning to Washington after their brief recess not only report great uneasiness and dissatisfaction in their home districts, but that public criticism is being applied to both Republicans and Democrats—in fact to anyone in office. The discontent appears to be greater on the Pacific coast than anywhere else, but it is also reported from the middle west side by side with circumstantial stories that the spirit of the men in the factories has greatly improved and that they are taking their work much more seriously and enthusiastically.

From an entirely reliable correspondent in Nevada I have received a letter telling me that he had expected, after the declaration of war, that people who came into his important business would cease talking in criticism of the President, but that to his astonishment the criticisms of Mr. Roosevelt, of Knox, Stimson, Knudsen and other members of the administration are louder and sharper than before, and that his customers are speaking openly of "the war of the trusts, by the trusts and for the trusts." He declares that the intensity of this feeling is in considerable part due to the mining priority order according to which gold and silver mining is practically abolished in mines not having 70 per cent in value in strategic metals. Since there are few such mines in eleven western states, many thousands of workers are being thrown out of employment by this order.

Criticism of Both Parties

My correspondent admits frankly that he and his friends see no hope whatever in the Republican party whose heads are "affiliated with the tariff, supported by trusts, the big industrialists, the money power, and so on." That is the weakness of the whole situation, and that is one reason why the returning congressmen have found that the Republican members were being as bitterly criticized as the Democratic. The dissenters have no alternative. There is no third party in sight. The Socialist party is still with us and is still headed by a man who, because of his attainments, his natural ability and his high character, ought to be in an important if not a commanding position in the government of the United States. The fact is, however, that there is no hope today for any leadership under the Socialist flag. Unfortunately there is in sight today no sign of the coming of any other third party. The simple truth is that there are no strong new men coming to the front among the Democrats or the Republicans or anywhere else. If there is an exception it is Senator Danaher of Connecticut, who is making a real name for himself in the Senate.

More than that, the organizers of any new party would have to face the demand that they come out 100 per cent in favor of winning the war, defeating Hitler and dictating the terms of peace in Berlin and Tokyo, unless they wish to face the charge of lukewarmness when their country is in danger. As in the case of the Republicans today, they would have largely to limit themselves to criticism of the inefficient conduct of the war, and then to base their campaign upon a clear-cut program for the post-war America they might wish to see.

Republican Tactics

Senator Brooks based his campaign upon his right to criticize the methods and the inefficiency of the Roosevelt conduct of the war. He did not go beyond that, if my information is correct. In Washington his Republican associates are in very much the same situation. They can bring themselves to offer nothing more than a promise of greater efficiency in defeating Berlin and Tokyo. The whole tactics of the Republican high command have been not to oppose strongly or to take the aggressive in Congress, or to challenge harshly any of President Roosevelt's demands upon the Congress and the treasury, but to give the Democrats plenty of rope in the belief that they will hang themselves. That is particularly the strategy of the national Republican chairman, Congressman Martin of Massachusetts. The result has been that both the majority and the minority in Congress are equally unpopular. Proof of this was the public indignation over the congressional pension bill.

The Senate Republican leader, McNary of Oregon, is similarly ineffective. He is regarded as purely cynical and disillusioned and without too much hope of the future. So the whole Republican policy has been one of drift. There is not one single outstanding figure to compare, for example, with Senator Borah, or to go farther back, with men like Carl Schurz, Charles Sumner or George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, who covered himself with such glory during the anti-imperialist fight after our seizure of the Philippines. The Gallup poll has just proved again that very few Americans know the names of their congressmen. The debates in the House of Representatives are no longer printed in the newspapers; very rarely does an abstract appear unless there is some sensational charge by a senator or congressman against an individual or a corporation, such as the Standard Oil of New Jersey, and this trend will be increased as the pressure for paper grows with the length of the war. The average American reporter is trained to print nothing about a public meeting unless there is a sensational or personal angle to the "story," and this applies to happenings in Washington as well.

A Congressional War Committee?

Yet the country never needed more a strong, loyal opposition, one standing behind the government but determined to see that no money is wasted in the war effort, and that there shall be efficiency wherever possible. Mr. Roosevelt is an extremely poor executive, as he has himself publicly admitted. Hence supervision by others of the war undertaking is all the more necessary, and a number of senators, especially Senator Vandenberg, are beginning to ask whether there should not be established in this war, as during the Civil War, a joint congressional committee on the conduct of the war. Undoubtedly Mr. Roosevelt and the military men will oppose any such move, but President Lincoln approved of it and constantly consulted the committee. I do not mean to suggest, of course, that Congress should interfere in the appointment of generals, as did the Civil War committee, or play favorites, but that it should be consulted as to national policies.

Even more important is the question of the objectives for which we are fighting. There is where the give-and-take of opposing points of view is more than ever needed. Despite the long debate leading up to the Japanese attack we were precipitated into this war with the mind of the country totally unprepared for the event, and there is throughout the country the state of bewilderment already referred to. That makes it all the more necessary that there should be some clarification of our aims and purposes, as Dr. Felix Morley, president of Haverford College, has just set forth in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 18, in an article which I urge everyone to read. With amazing frankness and truth-telling, creditable alike to him and to the *Post,* Dr. Morley has pointed out the fact that Singapore was England's death blow as an Asiatic power and that the lost power "will not in the visible future return to them, nor to other white nations whose theories of colonization have been reflected in Kipling's oversimplified ideas." Dr. Morley dwells upon the fact that our White House leadership has only confused the people by its refusal to emphasize the underlying forces and the revolutionary pattern of this war. He does not hesitate to say that "the attack on Pearl Harbor was a logical and predictable consequence of our state department note of November 26, which demanded that Japan support Chiang Kai-shek and 'withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indo-China' as a preliminary to resumption of trade relations by the United States."

War Aims Need Definition

Dr. Morley also does not overlook the fact that the whole aspect of the war has changed, and that we and Japan are now the important contestants with Germany and England relegated to second place, and we are facing the necessity of defending the crumbling British empire and fighting for it all over the world. This causes Dr. Morley to demand what so many others have been asking of the government—a clear-cut definition of what we are after and what kind of world we are striving for. Raymond Clapper is another reporter who has added his voice in urging, as has Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, that the United Nations renounce now extraterritoriality and all other forms of outside control over China. After a month in India and China, which has just ended with his return to Cairo, Mr. Clapper urges in a cabled statement that the United Nations remove at once "a suspicion among the populations of Asiatic countries that the Allies are at war merely for the purpose of saving the old imperialism which the Asiatics are determined to remove."

Mr. Clapper is right in saying that since we are now responsible for beating Japan it is a proper matter for American concern to make sure that the victory shall be

used "to advance freedom, self-government, collective security and equitable economic policies instead of restoring conditions which could only spur Asia to new efforts to throw off Western domination." If Martin and McNary were really statesmen they would see in this situation alone a great opportunity not only for statesmanship, but for compelling the President to do what he obstinately refuses to do—tell us exactly what he thinks we are fighting for and why our young men are dying in Java, in Australia, in New Guinea, in the Philippines, in Burma and on the Seven Seas. That their party would profit by it is true, but that is the least important thing. What is all-important is that there shall be intelligent, constructive leadership now and until the end of the war to prevent the final disaster, namely, the winning of the war only to lose it because of our failure to state our purposes and thereby to win to our support the millions who are not yet convinced that our motives are altruistic, that we want a new and better world, or even that we know what it is all about, and realize that we are in the midst of the greatest of human revolutions. There are millions and millions of just such skeptics throughout the East.

BOOKS

The Unquenchable Spirit

THE MOON IS DOWN. *By John Steinbeck. Viking Press, $2.00.*

CYNICS and superior persons who find pleasure in believing that wide popularity for a novel is always a sign that there is something cheap and nasty about it, and that the public's taste is always wrong, are invited to read this chaste miniature masterpiece and then to reflect upon the fact that half a million copies of it were sold within a month from its date of publication, which was March 6.

This is an idyll of the unquenchable human spirit—the indefatigable moral resistance of the conquered and, no less, the persistent reassertion of human qualities in the conquerors, who cannot reduce themselves to the purely military mechanisms they would have to be to carry out effectively their ruthless assignment.

The setting of the story is a town in an occupied country where a war is in progress. The author does not say what country, or what war, and the names of the persons give no clue. Among the townspeople there are Mayor Orden, Doctor Winter, Correll, Deal and Doggel, and Joseph and Annie and Mollie. Names of officers in the occupying force include Lanser, Bentick, Loft, Prackle, Hunter and others as unrevealing. The town is on a coast. Its chief industry is coal-mining. Some of the residents escape to the coast of England. England is obviously the enemy's enemy or a neutral country in which the refugees will be safe. Putting this and that together, one can locate the events in time and on the map with a fair degree of approximation if that seems important. But it is not important. On the contrary, it is important that the scene be left unlocalized. The narrative is a generalized study of the psychology of both sides of a war of occupation expressed in terms of characters as clearly defined as the Joads, in spite of their detachment from the map and the calendar.

The occupation of this imaginary town involves features that have become familiar in recent history. It was accomplished by surprise, against a community which had no idea that such a thing could happen there, and was facilitated by the collaboration of a prominent local citizen—a sort of miniature Laval or Quisling, if anything can be smaller than those two. The miners were kept at work digging coal to be shipped out to the enemy. Slow-downs and sabotage were followed by reprisals. The village and the countryside were honeycombed with secret plots against the invaders. All this could be regarded as history, and could doubtless be documented as such, if it were localized at any of a hundred places in the mining districts of France, Belgium or Norway. The invaders in this fictional town grew sick of their job, troubled by the frequency of assassination among their number, restless before the silent hatred of the people. Most of them were very decent fellows, as individuals. There is no caricaturing of the enemy. They are not brutes, but good men caught in a bad system and unable to do anything but go through with it. Headquarters thought that reprisals would end resistance, but the officers and men on the spot were learning that it never would. Colonel Lanser learned this, but he could only obey orders and carry out the established policy, stupid as he knew it to be.

Then it became necessary to arrest the gentle and much loved old mayor, whose conduct had been as correct as that of a loyal citizen could be. He is a hostage for the good behavior of the people. "But that won't stop it," said the mayor to the colonel, referring to the sabotage and guerrilla warfare. "You don't understand. When I have become a hindrance to the people, they will do without me." "Lanser said, 'Tell me truly what you think. If the people know you will be shot if they light another fuse, what will they do?'

" 'I don't know,' said the mayor. 'I think they will light the fuse. . . . If I tell them not to fight, they will be sorry, but they will fight. If I tell them to fight, they will be glad, and I who am not a very brave man will have made them a little braver.' "

The talk a moment before between the mayor and his friend the doctor, with the colonel as a listener, had been of the last words of Socrates, which they remembered reading together in school forty years before. The mayor, prompted by the colonel, quoted: "I prophesy to you who are my murderers that immediately after my departure punishment far heavier than you have inflicted on me will surely await you. Me you have killed because you wanted to escape the accuser." (The colonel hushes a lieutenant who breaks in to report another dynamiting.) "If you think that by killing men you can prevent someone from censuring your evil lives, you are mistaken."

And just as he is led away the mayor says softly: "You see, sir, nothing can change it. You will be driven out and destroyed. The people don't like to be conquered, sir, and so they will not be. Free men cannot start a war, but once it is started, they can fight on in defeat. Herd men, followers of a leader, cannot do that, and so it is always the herd men who win battles and the free men who win wars. You will find that is so, sir."

This is not history; it is prophecy. It is the affirmation of a high faith in humanity—which is the same thing as faith in

the ultimate triumph of freedom over force. That faith has not been more beautifully stated than in this novel.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

TEACHING RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. *By Conrad A. Hauser. Round Table Press, $2.00.*

A popularization of the author's earlier book, *Latent Resources in Public Education.* The author holds that the nonsectarian elements of religion should be taught in the public school, while the particular communal content of the major faiths should be taught in Sunday, weekday and vacation church schools. Education is a social function that should be carried on through community cooperation of the several social agencies, especially the school, the church and the home.

DEMOCRACY AND FREE ENTERPRISE. *By Thurman W. Arnold. University of Oklahoma Press, $1.00.*

As to "free enterprise," we have never had it—at least on a large scale, in recent years, and in those fields which determine the character of the industrial process. E.g.: (1) General Electric pools patents with Krupp to put up the price and limit the supply of Tungsten carbide and to stabilize its control over an area that it considers its exclusive domain. (2) A labor union is permitted, by a Supreme Court decision, to prevent the use of ready-mixed concrete in Chicago, thus raising the cost of building. (3) The use of prefabricated building materials, stone cut at the quarry and pipe threaded at the factory is prevented in Cleveland, Chicago and other cities by organizations interested solely in gaining an immediate advantage for local labor. (4) Pittsburgh and San Francisco carpenters would not allow the use of millwork not locally manufactured. (5) New York metal lathers would not work with lath or rods fabricated or bent elsewhere than on the job. (6) Cartel agreements have restricted production and monopolized control in electrical equipment, drugs, chemicals and many materials basic to war and essential in civilian use. And so on almost indefinitely. Mr. Arnold argues that some good will come out of the war if it can "blast the theory of scarcity out of our economy," and lead to "a production economy rather than a restrictive price economy."

TOTAL VICTORY. *By Stephen King-Hall. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.00.*

Commander King-Hall is now a member of the British Parliament and for the past six years has conducted the widely circulated *K.-H. News-Letter.* He has long insisted upon the importance of reaching the minds of the enemy peoples and making it clear to them that they will be better off after the war if their side does not win. He believes not only that propaganda to this effect is an important, even essential, factor in winning the war, but that it is imperative that immediate attention should be given to preparations for making it true. "Total victory," therefore, does not mean the desolation of the enemy countries as well as the destruction of their military strength; it means the power, the plan and the will to make a just peace which will satisfy the reasonable demands of all peoples and all classes. That a former navy man now bearing both legislative and administrative responsibilities (the latter in the ministry of aircraft production) thinks the definition of war aims and the making of peace plans a matter of urgent and immediate importance ought to be a helpful hint to those who, chanting the slogan "One thing at a time," argue that we ought first to win the military victory before considering what we are going to do with it.

JEFFERSON. *By Saul K. Padover. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $4.00.*

Mr. Padover's biography, appearing on the 199th anniversary of Jefferson's birth, makes no claim to incorporate material not already familiar. But it does form a compact, fairly balanced and well written study—as provocative as that written by Albert Jay Nock. There seems to be no middle ground on Jefferson; biographers are either all for him or rabidly against him. Mr. Padover is for him. That is as it should be in a book for the general public, for Jefferson was indubitably a great American; in some ways our greatest. The American people should know him in all his greatness before they are introduced to his weaknesses. But he was not quite the completely logical and consistent character of whom Mr. Padover has written. In fact, there have been few American leaders who could be on occasion as sinuous and devious. Any fully satisfactory biography must take these factors into account. Nevertheless, an introduction to Jefferson of this sort serves a useful purpose. Put it on your list of recommended books.

Books Received

The American Year Book, A Record of Events and Progress for 1941. Edited by William M. Schuyler. Thomas Nelson & Sons, $8.50. Unlike that indispensable statistical annual, the *World Almanac,* this is a compilation of articles by about 150 recognized authorities in their several fields, covering every imaginable area of political, social, economic, scientific and cultural activity during the past year. Forty-five learned societies contributed to the planning of the volume and lend it their sponsorship. This is the closest approximation to a complete history of America for 1941. It brings the record down to December 31, thereby including the first phases of American participation in the war. Ample space is given also to religion.

Chinese Reader for Beginners. By Shau Wing Chan. Stanford University Press, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

A World of Song. Danish Lutheran Pub. House, Blair, Neb. Correction! The price previously stated was the pre-publication price. The present price is $1.65. The number of songs contained in the collection is 339.

Marriage. By Dietrich von Hildebrand. Longmans, $1.25. A purely theological and speculative consideration of marriage, from the Roman Catholic point of view, by a German Catholic philosopher who, having fortunately escaped from Germany before his anti-nazi sentiments entailed any worse consequences than voluntary exile, is now in America. His book bears the *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* of the New York diocese.

Gibraltar in British Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century. By Stetson Conn. Yale University Press, $3.00. The fortuitous nature of the British seizure of Gibraltar in 1704 (with the aid of the Dutch, who shared its occupancy until 1713) and the doubts for many years thereafter whether it should be carried on the debit or credit side of the national ledger, will bring some surprise to readers accustomed to think of Gibraltar as one of the chief pillars of the British empire. But of course it may actually be just that in these days of steam and air power and with a route to the Near East and India to be protected. Mr. Conn's thorough research in the documents of the period furnishes a solid foundation for his presentation of the diplomatic history of Gibraltar and an estimate of its value in the eighteenth century, all of which is useful background for an understanding of the present problem.

Gates of Brass, A Narrative Poem of the Passion and Triumph of the Son of God. By Donald Rodgers Fletcher. Presbyterian Press, Philadelphia, $1.00. It is a bold undertaking to put into forty pages of blank verse the story of the Upper Room, Gethsemane, Golgotha and the resurrection. Who is sufficient for these

things? Milton was not wholly successful with *Paradise Regained,* though the Temptation is an easier theme. Mr. Fletcher's feeling is fine, his theology is orthodox and his versification is correct. But one is moved to wonder—and all the more on reading this admirable effort—whether any epic of those last days can seem anything but dull in comparison with the simple prose of the Gospel narratives. His last eight lines, in which he departs from the blank verse form, merit higher praise.

An Evaluation of Modern Education. Edited by J. Paul Leonard and Alvin C. Eurich. Appleton-Century Co., $2.50. This report, prepared for and sponsored by the Society for Curriculum Study, deserves the careful attention of teachers and school administrators. It presents a careful analysis of the methods and results of progressive education and, in the last chapter, a spirited answer to its critics.

Canada Moves North. By Richard Finnie. Macmillan, $3.50. To say, as the publisher does, that "this is the only authoritative, timely and popular book on the Northwest Territories as a whole" is too cold a statement of the truth. It is all of that, but it is also a book to revolutionize one's geographical conceptions of the subarctic regions of Canada. Mr. Finnie describes it as an area of great resources, alluring possibilities and considerable actual development. He ought to know. Born in Dawson, he began nearly twenty years ago to busy himself with various governmental and private enterprises in the north, including serving as radio operator and as motion picture camera man on exploring expeditions and making films of Eskimo life. This is an informing and fascinating book, with beautiful pictures.

Sun Chief, The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian. Edited by Leo W. Simmons. Yale University Press, $4.25. (To be reviewed.)

The Unsearchable Riches. By Osborne L. Schumpert. Hoffman Press, Belmar, N. J., $1.00. Thoughtful and devotional discussions of great topics in religion and life.

Prayers for Victory. Edited by G. A. Cleveland Shrigley. Thomas Nelson & Sons, $1.00. These are wartime, but not warlike, prayers. The title does not mean what one might at first glance suppose. It means prayers "for the lasting victory of peace and righteousness." Among the great British, American and Canadian names in its list of eighty contributors are such as Brent, Burnham, Erdman, Fosdick, Holmes, Stanley Jones, Leiper, Robbins, E. F. Scott, Temple, Waldorf and Weatherhead. A book of rare strength and beauty.

The "Eight Points" of Post-War World Reorganization. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. H. W. Wilson Co., 90 cents. Continuing the discussion introduced in an earlier "Reference Shelf" volume entitled *International Federation of Democracies,* the present book analyzes and elaborates the program forecast in the Atlantic Charter and presents an organized body of expert opinion from various points of view, with an extensive bibliography.

Columbia Home Front Warbooks. Columbia University Press, 25 cents each. The current issues of this series of compact and informing pamphlets are *Resources for Victory,* by John E. Orchard; *Financing Total War,* by Robert Murray Haig; and *Psychology, The Third Dimension of War,* by Carroll C. Pratt.

The Garden Is Political. By John Malcolm Brinnin. Macmillan, $1.75. Few poets at twenty-five have won so many poetry prizes as Mr. Brinnin or placed their work in so many magazines —including some very good ones. His thought does not lie loosely upon the surface of his verse. Some seeking is required, but the search is seldom without reward. He is averse to the obvious and, being a young and growing poet, he will be a still better one when he has learned to avoid it with less obvious determination.

CORRESPONDENCE

Action Wanted

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: What those twelve Yale men said about "Winning the Peace" was concise, readable, positive. It takes the grasp of mind and power of a high-powered executive to comprehend the Delaware Conference report and dream of carrying it into execution. We may succeed in digesting it in our local discussion groups. But this "Communication" from Yale is not too big a mouthful to chew on.

Doubtless your correspondents did not convince you of the futility of debating whether or not the church is at war. But this reader feels it was better implied and indirectly stated so that all our energy may be focused on winning the peace. If we can bring the goal within clear focus, our involvement in the day-to-day fortunes of the war will take care of itself.

Toward that end, let's devote less space and importance to editorials and exhortations, and more space to reports of actual deeds done, perhaps, in obscure circumstances, such as those reported in the recent article, "You Can't Blackout the Stars." Common folks are actually doing the things outlined so academically in our ecclesiastical pronouncements. They want their leaders to carry these principles into *action* on a wider front. These pronouncements must be simple enough to fire the heart of the common man. Until that has been achieved, they will not have the dynamic to be any more than beautiful pronunciamentos.

First Church of Christ, ALLEN H. GATES.
East Haddam, Conn.

The Yale Pronouncement

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: This is to express appreciation for the Yale professors' statement. It seems to me to be on the whole the clearest brief analysis of the international situation that I have read. The call to a "great creative act," concurrent with the war and with the hope of hastening its end, in my opinion would be answered affirmatively by hundreds of thousands of persons. But the call must be sounded loudly, insistently, in popular language and *quickly.* The mounting tide of hatred, coupled with the demand that the war be not concluded until Japan is wiped off the face of the earth and Berlin permanently occupied, can conceivably determine the "nature of the peace," even at more terrific cost in blood, tears, impoverishment—and eventually renewal of armed conflict.

The program outlined by the professors (Section IV), including a suggestion that the underlying principles of the Atlantic Charter be scrapped by the United States and British governments, can be undertaken seriously only by a widely influential group willing to risk misunderstanding and ridicule, and to endure sacrifice. It is hardly conceivable that any existing institution could meet these requirements, though I believe there are some small, well organized groups with sufficient cohesion on moral issues that would be willing to cast their lots with the undertaking. It will require, at the outset, a newly formed group without the incubuses—traditions, stereotypes, boards, properties, easy and too general admission requirements, etc.—which so often stifle established institutions.

First Methodist Church, OSCAR L. SIMPSON.
Franklin, Tenn.

Administration Post-War Policy

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the communication from certain members of the Yale faculty published in your issue of April 8, it is asserted that the administration is committed to a plan for the joint policing of the world by Great Britain and the United States for the next hundred years. The evidence adduced for this assertion consists of the Atlantic Charter and a speech by Secretary Knox on October 1,

1941, which are referred to as virtually the only statements with regard to post-war policy which have been issued by the administration.

It does not seem to me that this gives a true account of the actual facts. In the first place, Knox's speech cannot properly be regarded as a statement of the administration's aims at all. The only officials qualified to speak for the administration on questions of foreign policy are the President, the secretary of state, the acting secretary of state, and, at the present time, the vice-president. They have all within the last year made a number of statements on the subject of the aims of our present foreign policy which, together with the Atlantic Charter, make fairly clear, at least in general terms, what the objectives of the administration are. And these statements make no reference to any plan for the policing of the world by the United States and Great Britain for the next hundred years. In fact no such proposal was made by Secretary Knox. What he did suggest was that the United States and Great Britain should exercise control over the *seas* for that period of time.

The Yale professors are furthermore in error when they imply that the administration has not proposed "a system of collective security extending beyond the Anglo-Saxon borders." The administration spokesmen have in fact proposed such a system on a world-wide basis. They have moreover advocated that the projected international organization should not only function as an agency for preventing aggression, but that it should exercise large powers in the economic and social field, and that it should promote measures for the increase of economic prosperity and the raising of the standard of living of the masses throughout the world.

College of Emporia, F. R. Flournoy.
Emporia, Kan.

[In fairness to the authors of the Yale statement it should be noted that Secretary Early, in a letter to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, specifically endorsed the speech by Secretary Knox as embodying the views of the White House.—The Editors.]

Sentimental Waste

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Why all the excitement about tire priorities for ministers? No matter what advantage a minister has, some sentimental saphead in the ministry, or out of it, will begin to question it.

To discuss it at all is to show a defeatist attitude toward our profession, all too prevalent among ministers. Is our profession as essential as a doctor's, or is it not? If it is, why not just as well get sentimental over a doctor's going on vacation on priority tires, leaving his patients behind? But nobody seems to question the ethics of that!

Winchester, Mass. Howard J. Chidley.

At Face Value

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: It is not my custom to take issue with editorial comment. However, in view of my sympathy with the aims of The Christian Century, my acquaintance with its editorial staff, and the fact that I may possibly be the only employee of the Standard Oil Company (N.J.) who reads it, I wish to make certain observations with regard to the editorial appearing on page 484 of the April 15 issue.

Basically, I can do no better than to direct you to the statement made by the president of the Standard Oil Company before the Truman committee. I enclose a copy forwarded to stockholders, in which I have underlined statements I feel to be of particular importance. I wish to draw your attention especially to a statement on page 4, which I feel might almost be considered the basic commandment of international business: "The company cannot constitute itself judge of the rights and wrongs of international problems. It cannot impose embargoes nor break them, these being the functions of government, not of industry."

The Christian Century need be neither sympathetic nor unsympathetic to big business. It should be objective. In a sense it might be expected to show some warmth to international business, since the development of international relations is an important, and sound, part of its policy. I have neither the information nor the authority to attempt a general defense of the practices of the company, but in this case I am convinced, from personal knowledge, that one will not be led astray if he accepts the company's statements at face value. I venture to submit that here the ideals of The Christian Century would be better served by a more kindly, a more considerate treatment of the difficulties met in carrying on international trade.

Summit, N. J. Frank T. Barr.

Chance for a Literary Detective

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: In contributing to our Baptist devotional quarterly, *The Secret Place,* I recently quoted Benjamin Franklin's "Parable Against Persecution." Written in biblical language, as you doubtless know, it tells of the stranger whom Abraham invited to share his tent for the night. When he failed to bless God at the meal, Abraham asked him why. The stranger replied that he worshiped another god, "which abideth in mine house and provideth me with all things." So Abraham promptly drove his guest into the wilderness. But God called to Abraham about midnight and asked him about the stranger. And when Abraham told him what he had done, God rebuked him so sternly that he confessed his sin, prayed for forgiveness, and hunted the man in the wilderness and brought him back to his tent. And in the morning he sent him away with gifts.

No sooner was that issue of *The Secret Place* out than the letters began to come in. Most of the writers believed the story must be in Genesis, but complained that they could not find it. Investigation showed that Franklin got it from Jeremy Taylor. But it was not original with Taylor. Now I would like to know where Taylor got it. Perhaps some talmudic scholar might locate it among the stories or sayings of the ancient rabbis. At any rate, here's a problem for literary detectives to go to work on.

Redford Baptist Church, W. F. Bostick.
Detroit, Michigan.

Tires and Vacations

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Your mention of tires for ministers pictures the envy of the laity at seeing the ministers starting off on vacation with new tires procured under their preference rating. May I point out that the application for new tires carries with it a pledge by the recipient that he will not use his tires for anything except the purpose provided for by the preference? That means that any minister riding off on new tires this year not only invites lay envy and government prosecution but he is also guilty of breaking his word. And are we to assume that this year the parsons and priests and rabbis will enjoy vacations as usual with or without tires? You have raised a question of more importance than some of us clergy might think.

First Unitarian Church, John Clarence Petrie.
Houston, Texas.

After Lincoln

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I quote from Lincoln's Second Inaugural: "The Almighty has his own purpose. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both north and south this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always

ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' "

A paraphrase: "If we shall suppose that in the United States the mistreatment of the Negro, politically, economically, socially, personally, in various forms is one of those offenses; and further that the discrimination, economically and otherwise, against one-third of the people of the United States who are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed, is another of those offenses; and also that America's Oriental exclusion acts, which brand the Chinese, Japanese and Indians as inferior races, are other similar offenses; and in the world at large that the partition of the major part of the earth's surface by the white races with the resultant crowding of the yellow and brown races is another of those offenses; and moreover that the political subjugation of large bodies of yellow, brown and black races by the white races is still another of those offenses; furthermore, if we shall suppose that the underlying causes of all the above offenses are to be found (1) in a feeling of superiority on the part of the white races, and (2) in a greedy desire on their part to maintain a superior standard of living for themselves, as compared with Negroes and other poor folk in their own lands and colored populations in wide areas of the globe: if now, in the providence of God, all these offenses, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to all of us this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offenses came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up for the privileged few, individuals and nations, in America, England and other countries, by the unrequited toil of those races and classes who have been regarded as inferior for these hundreds of years, shall be sunk, and until every humiliation visited upon so-called inferior races shall have been returned upon the heads of those who inflicted the wrongs, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogther.' "

Michigan. A MISSIONARY.

Help for Japanese Refugees

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: We on the Pacific coast feel a very deep concern to make some effort toward helping the Japanese among us who must apparently evacuate this area, and I am taking this means of appealing to as many people as possible to help solve at least a small portion of the problem.

Two weeks ago a group of us met with about fifty members of a Japanese church to find out how we could best help them. It certainly crystallizes the tragedy to know these people who must suffer simply because of their race. The "elders" are mostly over 55 years of age, and they feel they will never come back to northern California. The younger ones are under 35 years of age in general, and they are well adjusted to life here—as, of course, the majority of them have known no other kind of life. Many are graduates of universities. They were, without exception, clean, fine-appearing people.

We had had no idea of their despair. The Japanese have been so concentrated on the coast that they have almost no friends inland. The result is that many of the families who left before the orders came last week prohibiting further movement except under government supervision are reported to be stranded without means of settling into normal life. Of the Japanese who remain, most feel they have no alternative except to spend the duration in the reception camps which the government is building. It may be, of course, that the government itself will not grant permission for resettlement of these people. However, it has persistently described these camps as "reception centers," and has said that families would be resettled into other communities. Unless this is done now, it will mean that nearly 100,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans will be uprooted again at the close of the war, just at the time when thousands of soldiers are returning to civilian life and when industry will be painfully attempting to revert to a peacetime basis.

According to descriptions which we have of the reception camps, whole families (which means grandparents and all) will be living in one room. At the Owens Valley camp four square acres is all that has been allotted to farming, I understand. The water table is very low because the water has been drained off for the Los Angeles water supply. This means that the 10,000 Japanese in this camp will have nothing or very little with which to occupy their time. Military control over the camp will be rigid; military permission will be required before persons may either enter or leave the camp.

There have been numerous suggestions for ways of helping. Most of the Christian churches are taking responsibility for Japanese in their own denomination, but this will not take care of the Buddhists who comprise approximately 80 per cent of the Japanese in this country. Other plans are in the nature of cooperative farms. These would be preferable to many Japanese since it would mean that they and their friends could resettle together, but again such plans cannot take care of all the people. Something more will be needed.

For those who cannot go into the cooperative farms, we feel that communities can be found in the midwest where sympathetic, understanding people can and will help them become settled. It is in an effort to locate such persons (whole churches, perhaps) that this letter is being written. If, from various sources, a file of such possible locations can be accumulated, we feel it will be of some help.

One further step needed is to find homes all along the highways from the west to the midwest and the east where families may find a friendly welcome and lodging for overnight without fear of community antagonisms.

In putting such a plan into operation we must realize that there will be some real opposition. We understand that the midwest is much less tolerant toward the Japanese than are the westerners, who in turn are not as tolerant as are people in the Hawaiian islands, where a large portion of the population is Japanese. Because of this sentiment we feel it is especially necessary that attempts at resettlement should be under the guidance of intelligent, sympathetic people, with full realization of the difficulties involved and on the basis of mutual liability.

With these things in mind, I should like to invite all interested persons or groups of persons to write to me at Mills College, Oakland. The Northern California Section of the American Friends Service Committee has consented to handle the file of names of available locations for resettlement as well as find the most suitable Japanese families to fit each location if government permission is granted for such a type of resettlement.

Oakland, Calif. PAULINE R. HARE.

Magnificent Futility

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Magnificent is your editorial, "Shall Our Radios Become Breeders of Hate?" in your issue of April 15. And just as futile, as long as this or any other war is endorsed or supported by those who profess to be followers of Christ! We are the most naive of folk if we think we can sanction or support this hell of war and keep hate from poisoning the soul of our country and its people. No doubt when the National Broadcasting officials realized the extent to which religious leaders in America are sanctioning this war, they took it for granted that these men had thrown over their Jewish or Christian scruples against hate. Why not? The military know that you make efficient killers out of our boys when you get them to hate the enemy. The deeper the hate, the more efficient the soldier!

Methodist Church, Clinton, N. Y. GEORGE MAYCHIN STOCKDALE.

Margins of City Need Churching

Growth of Indianapolis Produces Unchurched Areas—Pastor Probes Rent Gouges—Stanley Jones Speaks

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, April 15.—The greatest church problems in the Indianapolis area are to be found just outside the city, according to surveys made by William C. Nelson, chairman of the fields and survey committee of the local church federation. The surveys made show a steady exodus of city people to the suburbs where churches sufficient to care for them are not to be found. New or expanding defense areas have been among the causes of shifts of population within the metropolitan area. These add to the difficulty of providing churches in proportion to the needs of the population. Mr. Nelson is getting together the facts of the local situation and developing charts and maps which graphically set forth his findings. Included is information as to housing, rentals, wage levels and delinquency in the areas studied.

* * *

Indian Evangelist Speaks

Dr. E. Stanley Jones was in Indianapolis recently for four addresses under sponsorship of the church federation, the council of churchwomen and the federation of women's clubs. He also conducted a retreat for speakers in the Good Friday services and spoke before the Indianapolis ministerial association. Dr. Jones came as a representative of the department of evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches.

* * *

Methodists Open Clubhouse

Because large numbers of girls coming into Indianapolis are having difficulty finding places to live, Methodist women are opening a new residence and boarding hall for girls. Known as Esther Hall and Deaconess Home, the residence is to be maintained chiefly for girls in the lower income brackets and is sponsored by the Indiana Conference Women's Society of Christian Service, of which Mrs. Orien W. Fifer is president. Active in launching the project were 16 Wesleyan service guilds of young business and professional women.

* * *

Accepts Presidency Of College

One of Indiana's most widely known preachers, Errol T. Elliott, pastor of the First Friends Church of Indianapolis, has been elected president of Penn College of Oskaloosa, Iowa, succeeding Henry Edwin McGrew. Dr. Elliott served as field secretary of the five-year meeting of Friends before his local pastorate. During the First World War he was for 14 months in Europe with the staff of the American Friends Service Committee. In 1940 he was sent to Europe on a mission for the Service Committee.

* * *

Pastor Probes Rent Gouges

Frank S. C. Wick, pastor emeritus of All Souls Universalist Church of Indianapolis, heads the mayor's fair rent committee. Appointed originally for six months, the committee's life has been extended for another half year. The committee has no authority, but has had some success in holding down rents. There is always the possibility that, if such voluntary methods are not effective, a rent administrator will be appointed by the OPA. This was done in South Bend where rents soared to inflationary levels.

* * *

Car Users Are Paid

A transportation allowance will be paid to each car owner who conveys four passengers to the Indiana Baptist pastors' conference, about to convene as this is written. Four hundred pastors are expected for the three-day meeting at Franklin College. Speakers include William A. Elliott, president of the Northern Baptist Convention, Walter E. Woodbury, the denomination's secretary of evangelism, and J. M. Horton, state secretary. Walter P. Halbert, Shelbyville minister, is the president of the conference.

* * *

And So Forth

Mrs. Virgil A. Sly has been elected president of the Indianapolis council of churchwomen. Vice-presidents elected are Mrs. H. C. Gemmer, Mrs. R. L. Brokenburr and Mrs. P. M. Strickler The council is one of the city's most active organizations.

Raphael H. Miller, editor of the *Christian-Evangelist* of St. Louis, conducted a series of evangelistic meetings during Holy Week for the Linwood Christian Church of Indianapolis, of which his son, R. H. Miller, Jr., is pastor.

R. H. Mueller is going from the position of district superintendent of the Indiana district of the Evangelical Church to become his denomination's general secretary of Christian education. His headquarters will be in Cleveland, Ohio.

Lyndhurst Baptist Church of Indianapolis recently celebrated the close of the 20th year of the pastorate of Charles H. Scheick. The church has a membership of 600 and has been particularly successful in carrying on its work of religious education.

Twelve people from Indianapolis attended the Delaware, Ohio, conference on the bases for a just and durable peace.

A new Lutheran church, St. Andrew's, has been organized in Speedway City, scene of the annual 500-mile automobile races, which are not to be held this year.

As these notes are written, the seventh annual state conference on religion in higher education is about to be held. Headliner among the speakers is Gregor Ziemer, WLW commentator, former president of the American School in Berlin and author of the recently published book, *Education for Death*.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

Labor United in Steel City Meet

Leaders of Two Factions Address Unity Assembly—Hold Popular Peace Institute—Christian Advance Meeting

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, April 14.—At Syria Mosque one evening last week I saw hundreds of earnest-faced workmen all about. Chartered buses thronged the curbs. The cohorts of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. had come to town and the meeting put Pittsburgh in the nation's headlines. History was made. For the first time since seven years ago when the great split in labor came, William Green and Philip Murray eloquently pleaded from the same platform for intensified war production, for the prevention of strikes and for a solid labor front which would fight against attempts to destroy labor gains and labor legislation. Photographers grinned as they caught the two chiefs smiling and shaking hands.

* * *

Look to Permanent Unity

Unity banners hung from the walls. A series of efforts, beginning after Pearl Harbor, was coming to fruition. Some believe that this is more than an emergency-induced unity, and that even in post-war years labor may possess much more internal peace. Sixty-one years ago in this city, eight trade unions from the U. S. and Canada came together and formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. This eventually grew into the A. F. of L. Also in this area the United Mine Workers, backbone of the C.I.O., found early strength. Here also the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was founded in 1937.

* * *

Huntingdon Has an Abbey Church

In the mountain town of Huntingdon, Pa., you can find a beautiful church. But there is more than a building. Dean Lynn Harold Hough has written of Hobart D. McKeehan, the pastor and power behind this church: "He listened before he spoke and read before he began to write." Of Dr. McKeehan's books, *What Men Need Most* is perhaps best known. It is a deeply spiritual volume. Dr. McKeehan had much to do with stirring up interest in Berdyaev, the Russian philosopher. Protestant, Greek and Roman Catholic backgrounds are represented in his congregation. Dr. McKeehan has specialized for years in bringing preachers of national influence to Huntingdon. He has had many opportunities to take city pulpits but prefers his quiet library and his deeply appreciative town. Dr. McKeehan has just been elected a regent of Mercersburg Academy.

* * *

Religious Educators Plan Conference

The Christian Council of Allegheny now

is operating with Roy D. Boaz as the efficient secretary. This council gathers up into one central office all union Protestant activities. Its next event is a one-day conference in the South Avenue Methodist Church, Wilkinsburg. This will be a rally for "United Christian Education Advance." This conference is one of a nation-wide series of more than 100 intended to drive into every church and to every home in the land, in an attempt to fill the Sunday schools and churches. Leaders of national prominence will be here to speak.

* * *

Peace Institute Is Held

Recently the Quakers held a conference here on post-war problems. Much interest was aroused. Their influence was by no means confined to their own members. They considered such topics as "The Nature of the Post-War World," "Problems of Social and Cultural Reconstruction," "Problems of Economic Reconstruction" and "Political Organization of Peace." "Sources of Spiritual Strength for Life Today" was also discussed. Among the speakers were Haridas Muzumdar, Freda Utley, Philip Jacob, Wilhelm Solzbacher and Benjamin Williams. The institute bore the title, "Bases of Reconstruction."

* * *

Churchmen Prepare For Bombers

Under the able leadership of Marshall Muir, minister of the Bellefield Presbyterian Church and chaplain of the Presbyterian hospital, heartily seconded by Jacob Rothschild, rabbi of a local temple, and the Catholic Father O'Rourke, provision is being made for emergency hospitalization in case of a bombing or other disaster incident to the war. Many expect Pittsburgh, the Essen of our country, to suffer bombing.

* * *

And So Forth

Under the auspices of the city council of churches, an effort is being made to work out an exchange of pulpits between 20 white and the same number of Negro ministers.

A street-level has been provided in the magnificent Gulf Oil building for a recreational center for service men. A fine clubroom is fully equipped. The center is administered by the six organizations of the USO. It is a going concern.

Raymond Custer from Beaver, Pa., has just been installed as rector of St. James Episcopal in Homewood. He is young and social-minded.

The First Christian Church of Monongahela was blown down in a recent storm. The members are rebuilding it evenings and in off-hours. JOHN RAY EWERS.

Christian Science Pacifist Group Changes Name

The Christian Science Pacifist Fellowship has changed its name, according to Walter Theodore Liles, its national secretary, to Pacifist Principle Fellowship. Its address continues to be 6719 E. 68th Avenue, Portland, Oregon. "No change has been made in our policy of aiding students of Christian Science serving in Civilian Public Service camps for Conscientious Objectors," he adds. No reason is given for the change in name.

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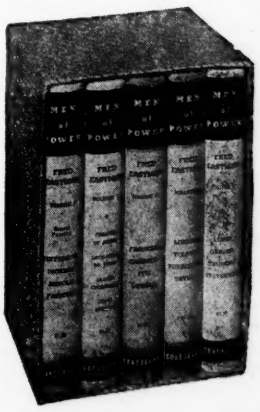

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Talmadge Raises Racial Bugaboo

Claims Federal Aid for Georgia Schools Would Lead to Coeducation—Army Takes Over Luxury Hotels

(Correspondence from Georgia)

MACON, April 15.—Governor Talmadge has again introduced the issue of racial coeducation as a bugaboo to justify certain of his policies. When the Georgia board of education recently declined to raise teachers' salaries because sufficient funds are not available, the state teachers' organization announced its determination to work for the passage of a bill pending in the United States Senate providing $300,000,000 annually for the equalization of educational opportunities. (Georgia's share would be about $15,000,000.) The governor immediately declared his opposition to federal aid for state education, contending that such appropriations would lead to efforts for coeducation of the races. Georgia Education Association officials have pointed out that fears concerning such developments are groundless since the state constitution specifies that separate schools must be maintained for white and Negro pupils. The governor asserts it is the patriotic duty of the teachers to remain in their positions at present salaries, and threatens that if many of them leave for jobs offering higher pay (a large number have already done so) he will advocate that teacher qualification requirements be relaxed to permit the use of high school students as instructors in lower grades.

* * *

Bishop Ainsworth Warns of Talmadge Policies

Meanwhile Bishop W. N. Ainsworth, retired, veteran dry crusader who recently observed his 50th anniversary as a member of the South Georgia Methodist conference, has been sounding the alarm concerning the "deluge of disaster" which is destined to break upon the state if the damage caused by political interference with the university system is not rectified. A lifelong citizen of Georgia, the militant bishop characterizes the present educational situation as one of the gravest problems the people of the state have faced in a generation. Pronouncing any apprehension concerning racial coeducation in the state baseless, he lists as disastrous consequences of the disaccrediting of the university system by the Southern Association of Colleges (1) a migration of Georgia students to other states, (2) withdrawal of educational aid funds, (3) the departure of skilled teachers, (4) criticism of Georgia throughout the nation, (5) the unprecedented disturbance and embitterment of race relations.

* * *

Florida Baptists Promote Denominational School

In conformity with action taken at their state convention in January, Florida Baptists are observing April as Stetson University month. All agencies of the denomination are cooperating to promote the interests of the institution. The *Baptist Witness,* state denominational paper, has published a special edition setting forth the contributions, aims and facilities of the school. The principal purposes of the observance are to make Florida Baptists better acquainted with Stetson, to encourage Baptists to give more serious thought to Christian education, to impress Baptist parents with the importance of sending their children to the denominational school, and to raise $25,000 for the institution this year, an amount promised by the state convention.

* * *

Miami Becoming An Army Camp

A number of the most luxurious ocean-front hotels at Miami Beach have been leased by the army and will serve as barracks for non-flying officers being trained in the air corps. Military authorities announce that facilities adequate to accommodate 30,000 men are being taken over. By this action a camp will be available with a minimum saving of three months' construction time, $6,000,000 of taxpayers' money, and thousands of hours of labor and essential materials urgently needed elsewhere. Expensive draperies, rugs and upholstered furniture considered too ornate for army life are being placed in storage. Near-by golf courses will be used for drill grounds and adjacent beaches will prove advantageous in the physical culture program.

* * *

Reveals Theological Fallacies on War

Dr. Ellis A. Fuller, pastor of Atlanta's First Baptist Church, was one of the speakers at the annual pastors' conference of the Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, in March. In an address on the contemporary crisis he pointed out six false theories concerning God's relationship to war: (1) that God is too transcendent in his holiness to have any connection with the war; (2) that in wartime Christians must declare a moratorium on the doing of God's will; (3) that war indicates God has temporarily lost control of the processes of history; (4) that God is definitely on one and only one side in the conflict; (5) that certain perverse nations are guilty of starting the war and that the innocent belligerents are waging a holy war with God as their ally; (6) that war is an economic necessity which inevitably occurs periodically to thin out the population and enable the survivors to live in comfort and achieve progress. In contrast Dr. Fuller stated his conviction concerning the explanation of war: "It is God's judgment upon people for their sins."

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. George W. Truett of Dallas is in Atlanta this week preaching at the Druid Hills Baptist Church, the evening services being held at the city auditorium. His morning messages are being broadcast over a state-wide radio hookup.

The 59th annual meeting of the Florida Congregational-Christian conference is being held this week at the First Congregational Church, St. Petersburg. The principal speaker is Dwight Bradley of New York, executive director of the denomination's well-known and effective Council for Social Action.

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Says Child Labor Must be Opposed

Conference Shows War Likely to Increase Child Labor Unless Opposed—President of University Dies

(Correspondence from Colorado)

DENVER, April 21.—A strong program presenting the rights of children was given at the "Colorado White House Conference." Betty Eckhardt May warned that "California is a good example" of what will happen elsewhere. "Soon there will be little farm labor left." She referred to the removal of the Japanese from coastal areas. "It won't be long until we will be hearing a clamor in California for schoolchildren to do farm work to win the war. Our rural children are being shortchanged." In the meantime, more that 1,000 Japanese have come into Colorado, furnishing a human situation about which politicians wax argumentative.

* * *

Elliott Says Hitler Cannot Win

Roland Elliott, executive secretary of the National Council of Student Christian Associations, said recently while in Denver: "Don't get a notion that Hitler is going to win this war. The food shortage is taking a toll in health and the effects will be felt by many generations to come. Whatever of food or clothing there is, Germany gets first pick. Even the nazis recognize the political effects which may result from too persistent taking of what is meant for others. There is in Germany a growing lack of confidence. Hitler's attempt to build world domination for Germany on an anti-Christian policy filled with hatred is resulting in a reassertion of the very values he has sought to exterminate. He represents a philosophy of life the real German cannot accept."

* * *

Thousands Pray at Easter Dawn

Easter has come and gone. In the Garden of the Gods at Colorado Springs, 15,000 people assembled at the moment of sunrise for prayer. John H. Skeen of the First Baptist Church of that city led the worship. In Denver at sunrise 10,000 assembled in the municipal auditorium for the annual service under the auspices of Denver Knights Templar. Merle L. Edwards of the North Presbyterian Church was the speaker. Almost 10,000 attended the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Each of the Protestant churches of downtown Denver conducted two identical services in order to accommodate the attendants.

* * *

Pioneer University President Dies

George Norlin, president of the University of Colorado, died last week. Born in a cabin in rural Kansas, educated at the University of Chicago and the University of Paris, he came to the University of Colorado in 1904 as a teacher of classics. In 1917 he was made acting president. Twenty years as president revealed his

ability as administrator as well as scholar. His wife preceded him in death by 27 hours and a double funeral was conducted by Lucius Reed of the First Congregational Church of Boulder. Dr. Norlin was a man of independent mind and in his last years he gave much attention to the dangers of regimentation. His greetings to a freshman class: "One thing which has always impressed me is the ease with which students give way to the 'herd' instinct. I want above all else to see students show their independence, their originality. Students are too apt to wear the same clothes, affect the same habits, think the same thoughts. Resist. Refuse to be lost in the crowd. Respect your own individuality and personality. Think your own thoughts and say what you think."

* * *

Deplores Ignorance Of Consumers

G. E. Damon of Colorado Teachers College, speaking before the Denver council of social agencies, argued that ignorance of consumers on how to spend money to their best advantage makes "a hole in our economic intelligence you could drive a horse and buggy through." He asserted that most people are crude, clumsy, careless and ignorant in their buying. The consumer should patch up his own faults rather than tarring all business with a black stick.

* * *

And So Forth

H. G. Burghstaler, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, in a recent visit to Denver said of the present situation: "This thing is too big for politicians. We must win the war if we don't want to become a nation of slaves."

Gov. Ralph L. Carr remarked: "We don't like the idea of having enemy aliens here, but we have a war on our hands. I did not invite the Japanese into Colorado. Neither did I invite the drafting of our boys."

Harry E. Kleinschmidt, M.D., director of health education for the National Tuberculosis Association, tells us of the rapid increase of tuberculosis in Germany.

Robert M. Kelley, S. J., is succeeded by John J. Flanagan, S. J., as the president of Regis College, Catholic school located in Denver.

E. Ervin Swift, representative of the Episcopal Church at Hangkow, China, referring to the Chinese declared: "With their bare hands they have built one great highway and are now at work on another. Women and children help the men. The Generalissimo took over the administration of a nation divided against itself and, relying on aid from America, he is not afraid of the future."

Franklin Fenner of the First Baptist Church of Grand Junction, Colo., conducted a preaching mission for the First Baptist Church of Denver.

Ruth Bryan Rohde, ex-ambassador to Denmark, in an interview here expressed confidence in the future of that nation.

Mary A. Dingman, related to the women's organization at Geneva, spoke before the Denver Y.W.C.A. on the subject, "Women of the World in the Present Crisis."

William McClurg has recently come from Iowa to be assistant minister of the Central Christian Church of Denver.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Unemployment Grows in South

Rolls of Jobless and Destitute Lengthen —Leading Editors Attack Poll Tax —Race Tension Increases

(Correspondence from Memphis)

MEMPHIS, April 16.—The 28th Tennessee conference of social work, held here recently with 300 in attendance, made the front pages daily. Fred K. Hoehler of Chicago and Mrs. Marjorie Bell of New York were among the speakers. It was announced that the food stamp plan for the state's needy would be limited to the 21 counties now being served. The state's unemployment compensation rolls carry 28,000 more names than in April 1941. The state goal for USO's second drive is $450,000. West Tennessee has 77,550 children receiving free school lunches. Of the five housing projects in Memphis, three are for Negroes. LeMoyne Gardens, named for the Negro college, has just been allocated $1,500,000 for enlargement.

* * *

Seek Ban on Poll Tax

Working for repeal of the poll tax are Herbert Agar, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal,* and E. J. Meeman, editor of the *Memphis Press-Scimitar.* When Tennessee state guardsmen were assessed only 50 cents of the $2 poll tax, Mr. Meeman headlined the question: "Why even 50 cents for anybody?" Representative John Rankin of Mississippi is circulating a speech charging that poll tax opponents are agitators trying to stir up race trouble. Such tactics reveal desperation.

* * *

Impose Heavy Penalties On Witnesses

The Mississippi legislature closed its 66-day session with a record volume of moral legislation. A penalty of ten years' imprisonment was provided for Jehovah's Witnesses who encourage disloyalty or refuse to salute the flag. Bills to relax the marriage, liquor and Sunday laws were defeated. The ad valorem levy was cut in half. Miss Mildred Alexander, member of the house, stated on the floor that the Rosedale Negro hospital receives heavy annual appropriations for feeding patients and does not even have a kitchen.

* * *

Race Tension Rises Over Shooting

In Little Rock recently a policeman killed T. B. Foster, a Negro sergeant from Camp Robinson. A meeting held by the Negro citizens' committee authorized a report, based on testimony of eyewitnesses, that Foster was prostrate and unarmed when shot and that military police and civilian spectators stood idly by. The story in the Negro *Arkansas State Press* makes it a bestial murder. The story in the white *Arkansas Gazette* seems to concur in the coroner's verdict of justifiable homicide.

* * *

Arkansas Governor Asks Racing Ban

In Arkansas, Governor Adkins has re-

"Only Faith beholds that all is well."

Faith Is the Answer
by SMILEY BLANTON and NORMAN VINCENT PEALE • "A psychiatrist and a minister consider the relationship between psychiatry and religion, with emphasis on how spiritual resources and psychological understanding may supplement each other. . . . One of the best books yet written for the layman on the relations of religion to health."—*Federal Council Bulletin.* $2

A Faith for Today
by HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL • "Every question raised throughout the entire range of religious interest is here treated by a direct and crystal-clear kind of thinking. Through nineteen chapters a reader is led by the most direct, brilliantly concise and illuminatingly written language to be found."—*Garrett Tower.* $2

The Faith We Declare
by EDWIN LEWIS • "The author's able defense of Biblical revelation and his ringing challenge to the Church and its leaders to proclaim the gospel to all men warm the hearts of all true evangelicals and give new grounding to their faith." — *Union Seminary Review.* $2

The Faith We Live
by ALBERT EDWARD DAY • "We heartily commend *The Faith We Live* to all who are in search of an appropriating faith, a technique for creative living, and the assurance that God is eager to 'operate in all the areas of human life' and prove Himself more than equal to every emergency, personal and social."—*Religion in Life.* $2

The Faith We Live By
by EARL L. DOUGLASS • "There is a chapter on the origin and growth of an apostolic creed; and then various articles in the Apostles' Creed are dealt with in separate chapters. It is a fresh and stimulating presentation of the great elements of the Christian faith."—*Presbyterian Survey.* $1.50

The Faith By Which the Church Lives
• by GEORGIA HARKNESS

"The chapters of this volume provide a stimulating discussion of the Church in the present world crisis, of the authority by which the Church lives, of the dependence of Christian faith upon God and upon Jesus Christ, and of the relation of the Church to democracy and to evangelism. . . . One voice in recognizing the significance and promise of the Christian faith we declare and the democratic faith it begot."—*Religious Education.* $1.50

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ABINGDON-COKESBURY

PRICES SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN CANADA

buked the racing at Hot Springs and asked suspension for the duration. Officials say there will be no 1942 revenue in Arkansas for old age pensions from state-owned lands. The Arkansas legislature of 1941 made possession of untaxed liquor a more serious offense but forgot to give the courts enforcement authority. The State College for Negroes at Pine Bluff awarded 141 certificates in March for completion of courses in trade, industrial and vocational arts.

* * *

And So Forth

For the first time, the Vanderbilt School of Religion will offer a full-term summer session, June 9-Aug. 21. From April 12 to 17 Vanderbilt's Cole lectures will be given by Edgar S. Brightman and the annual church and community conference will be led by A. J. Walton and Thomas A. Tripp.

Tennessee's birth rate increased 7 per cent in 1941 over 1940. Some 57,590 births were recorded. Duane Carr, M.D., reports that Tennessee has more cases of tuberculosis than any other state in the nation and that Memphis is the T.B. capital of the state.

The third annual meeting of the newly chartered Southern Conference for Human Welfare will be held in Nashville April 19-21 with Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt as speaker.

Germanos Polyzoides, bishop of Nycssa in the Greek Orthodox Church, has just closed a mission here. Edward Werner, former Polish minister of state, was speaker for the Holy Week services in First Congregational Church. Bishop W. L. Adrian dedicated a new Roman Catholic Church for Memphis Negroes last Sunday. Easter seal sales in Memphis brought in several thousand dollars for the crippled children's hospital.

The long dormant Tennessee interracial commission has been revived to further the equalization of salaries of white and colored teachers.

The Mississippi Valley Post-War Planning Association was formed here yesterday to aid in solving future unemployment problems. The defense service council of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., met here recently to discuss the council's work among enlisted men.

The tornado country, 100 miles south and east of Memphis, was visited again lately and thousands were left homeless. The Red Cross now has rehabilitation centers in 34 counties of the devastated area.

The pilgrimages to old Natchez homes, conducted for a month each year by two of the city's garden clubs, came to an end today. Each club has a monopoly on a certain number of houses. Their bitter rivalry was brought into court recently. Both clubs find their venture financially profitable.

MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

Church Leader Warns Against Hasty Unions

Studies made since the First World War showed that wartime marriages fell only slightly below the general average of success of the total number studied, says L. Foster Wood, secretary of the committee on marriage and the home of the Federal Council of Churches. He therefore advises that wartime marriages should not be "unduly discouraged."

Approve Plan of Joint Ordination

New York Presbytery Endorses Plan as Step to Union—MacLeish Says We Should Not Fear Victory

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, April 20.—The presbytery of New York last Monday gave unanimous approval to the plan of joint ordination of Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers. Theodore C. Speers, minister of Central Church, introduced the resolution. He termed it a "temporary device useful in the interim" before the full merger of the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches is accomplished.

* * *

Churches Urged to Buy War Bonds

A second resolution, introduced by J. V. Moldenhawer of First Church, which was adopted only after long debate. Although there were many negative votes, the presbytery urged congregations to purchase war bonds and stamps. The resolution read in part: "The presbytery is deeply conscious of the critical nature of the war in which our country is engaged. It seems to be beyond doubt that the maintenance and fostering of many of the most valuable elements in our tradition will depend upon the issue of the conflict. Our young men are being called in swiftly increasing numbers into military service. We are therefore under the evident pressure of conscience not to fail in our support of an enterprise in which so much is at stake and wherein most precious lives are being ventured and sacrificed."

* * *

Prelate Says We Need A Great Idea

America stands in need of an ideology, a "great idea" with which to combat "the fake ideologies on the other side," Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen told over 3,000 Catholic teachers and their guests of the Jewish and Protestant faiths who met in Brooklyn Saturday for the Catholic teachers' annual communion breakfast. Monsignor Sheen said: "We are not out to preserve the old order. The old order is dying. This war is fundamental yet we lack the offensive of a great idea, and we will have to have that great idea born."

* * *

Riverside Church Adopts Air Raid Plan

Plans for air raid service were explained recently to the Riverside Church congregation. The men's class will provide (1) a men's class warden, (2) an assistant warden, (3) nine men for a fire emergency squad, (4) four men for first aid squad, and (5) nine men for floor wardens. The fire squad will man the fire equipment truck and watch for incendiary bombs. The first aid squad will open the first aid room and be ready to answer any call in the building for help. The floor wardens will take people to safety, keep people calm and keep them from exposing themselves to danger. A series of instruction hours has begun so that each one will be thoroughly familiar with all his duties. The plan is considered a model which may be copied elsewhere.

* * *

Clergy Fund Marks 25th Year

The Church Pension Fund of the Protestant Episcopal Church, organized in 1916-17 with an initial reserve of $8,750,000, completed last week its 25th year of operation for the benefit of aged clergymen and their families. Its assets have now reached a total of more than $35,500,000. Bishop Davis of Buffalo, president of the fund, says in the anniversary pamphlet: "In the past 25 years the fund has paid out over $21,000,000 in pension benefits. The present list includes the names of about 2,500 individuals, and the fund is now paying benefits of $1,400,000 a year."

* * *

Dudley Resigns to Go to Toledo

William Ewart Dudley resigned from the pastorate of the Flatbush Congregational Church Sunday to accept the call to the First Congregational Church, Toledo, Ohio. For the past 13 years, Dr. Dudley has been one of the leading pastors in the city. During his pastorate 1,028 members have been received into Flatbush Church. He will take up his duties in Toledo on Sept. 20.

* * *

Says Many Fear Victory With Russian Aid

At a luncheon of the woman's division of Russian War Relief, anti-Russian bias in America was deplored by the speakers. Mme. Litvinoff, wife of the Russian ambassador, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt were the guests of honor. Speaking on our relations with Russia, Archibald MacLeish, director of the Office of Facts and Figures, declared: "It is a strange thing to fear victory more than one fears defeat." Some "would rather see this country lose this war alone than win it with the aid of other countries which they do not care for. Surely prejudice was never carried farther. Nevertheless prejudice is carried to that point, and nowhere more remarkably" than in our own country where certain "unified opinion" urges "that no American aid should be given to those who hold the one front in this war on which our enemies have been repulsed, the one front on which our enemies have been severely beaten—the Russian front." Mme. Litvinoff explained that the strength of the Russian army was rooted in the peasantry.

* * *

And So Forth

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has "called upon all members and friends to make April 27 a day of meditation and commitment." On this day of registration of older men, groups were urged to meet early and all who could to fast for one meal, giving the money thus saved to conscientious objectors' camps.

The 100th anniversary of the First Unitarian Congregational Society of Brooklyn was celebrated in the Church of the Saviour yesterday. John Howland Lathrop preached on the subject: "Visions that Bind the Generations."

One hundred Albanians recently met with F. S. Noli, North American Bishop of Albanian Churches, to consider forming a church here. J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Christian Advance Discussed by 500

Chicago Meeting One of Nation-Wide Series—Church Votes to Stay Out Of War Effort as Church

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, April 20.—Speaking quietly but evidencing a firm intent to stir the nation to commitment to Christian living, the one-day convention of the United Christian Education Advance of the International Council of Religious Education came to Chicago last week. The team consisted of J. O. Schisler, J. Vincent Nordgren, John B. Weir, F. M. McKibben and Herman J. Sweet. The goals of the Advance are to strengthen worship and Christian living in the home, to increase attendance and improve Christian teaching in the church and to make every person in the community a church member and every church a force for Christian community life. The meeting was one of 135 being held over the country.

* * *

Discover Unity in Acting Together

To the more than 500 delegates from churches of the city who assembled were presented plans for the use of religious education week—radio, press, interchurch cooperation, community leadership schools, weekday and vacation schools. The primary emphasis was put upon the function of the individual parish in making family life Christian and of Christian education as an influence on every person in the community. The contribution of United Advance, the conference leaders declared, is to get churches to do together what they have been doing separately.

* * *

Howard Thurman Discusses Reversion to Primitivism

Louis Fisher, noted newspaper man and author of *Dawn of Victory,* told the sixth annual institute of human relations conducted by the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews that those who want to get back the world as it was before the war would get back the world that started the war. Howard Thurman, Negro educator and theologian, told the same conference that we have been plunged back into the period from which the race emerged when the mind first dawned, a period when human energy was totally engaged in the matter of survival with no margin of time or energy left for reflection, invention or creative activities. It is precisely such a time, both speakers held, that enhances the importance of those agencies which pioneer in human relations, in thinking and in planning for a better world after the war.

* * *

Ask Whether Rubber Is Cause of War

"Are we fighting for tin and rubber?" asked Fisher. "Are we fighting to save the British empire and inherit its headaches? Are we just fighting another in a series of inevitable and interminable wars? Youth is asking these questions and they are not being answered in the right places, that is, by the people in authority. America's machines may roll and America's muscles may march but America's soul will be stirred only by the vision of a better world." James T. Yard reported that during Brotherhood Week the Chicago Round Table got its message before 600,000 moviegoers through a short film shown in Chicago theaters and was given 49 broadcasts by Chicago radio stations.

* * *

One Church Remains A Church

Affirming that it "cannot officially endorse, support or participate in the war," the Lombard, Ill., Methodist Church board has issued a statement to its membership outlining a policy in which the use of the church buildings would not be available to any agency for the promotion of war nor open to any solicitation for funds save by the agencies of the Methodist Church. The board declares its full support of the policy of the Methodist Church as stated in its discipline: "The Christian is bound to serve his nation's need in all ways that are compatible with the Christian faith and Christian way of life; but his supreme allegiance is to God whose love embraces all mankind." The board interprets its duties in wartime to be to teach love, to discourage hysteria, to comfort all afflicted by the war, to keep in contact with all in the services or in civilian camps and to sustain the morale of the nation. "In the event of any community disaster," the statement continues, "the facilities of the church shall be available for whatever use can be made of them toward the alleviation of suffering and distress." Charles C. Hartung is minister of the Lombard church.

* * *

Niebuhr and Pauck To Hold Seminar

Commencement at Presbyterian Theological Seminary here begins on April 28 when the seminary inducts three new professors—J. Walter Malone, James W. Clarke and Jesse Halsey. Robert E. Speer gives the inaugural address. On April 29 the entire day will be given over to a seminar on "The Christian Roots of the Democratic Theory and Practice" conducted by Wilhelm Pauck and Reinhold Niebuhr. April 30 an address will be given by Henry Sloane Coffin, president of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Second Presbyterian, Chicago, Observes Centenary

The week of May 17-24, Second Presbyterian Church of Chicago will observe its 100th anniversary. Among the speakers will be Charles F. Wishart and Josiah Sibley, former pastors. William Clyde Howard is the present minister. As a feature of the celebration, a centennial hymn will be used. The hymn is now being obtained by a competition in which anyone may participate. Only words are desired. The hymn should be from four to six stanzas, and should be adapted for use with some tune in the Presbyterian Hymnal. A prize of $25 will be paid for the hymn—if one suitable for use is selected from those submitted. Entries should be sent to the church, at Michigan Ave. and 20th St., Chicago, by May 5.

A Dialogue in the Desert

By GERALD HEARD

Here is the dramatic story of the temptation of Jesus, retold for our day—highlighting the conflict between the immediate and the eternal, the material and the spiritual. By the author of *Man the Master, The Creed of Christ, The Code of Christ.* $1.00

The Christian Faith

By NELS F. S. FERRÉ

A book for persons who want to maintain the liberal spirit in theology without losing hold on the Christian faith as ultimate reality. $2.00

Christian Missions in Today's World

By W. O. CARVER

A thoughtful and intelligent account of need and opportunity for the Christian message in the days ahead. $1.50

HARPER & BROTHERS

What is the role of the Church in Wartime?

This war is a moral crisis as well as a political and economic one. What is the church doing to meet it? What problems will have to be faced and overcome—and what will the church's function be in the new world that will arise out of the old?

This book attempts to answer these and other urgent problems of the church's part in our national life today. The nine contributors, members of the University of Chicago Divinity School, are: Edwin Ewart Aubrey, William Clayton Bower, Ernest Cadman Colwell, Charles W. Gilkey, Charles T. Holman, John Knox, John T. McNeill, Wilhelm Pauck, and Henry Nelson Wieman. $1.50

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Unity Found in Higher Loyalty

Beecher Lecture Given by Noyes—Holds that Fellowship Is Found in Loyalties Which Transcend Differences

(Special Correspondence)

NEW HAVEN, April 15.—Lyman Beecher lecturer for the 32nd annual convocation of Yale Divinity School was Morgan Phelps Noyes, minister of the Central Presbyterian Church of Montclair, N. J., who delivered a series of six addresses on "Preachers of the Word of God." Speaking from ten years' experience as minister of a church that has become a "working Christian community," Mr. Noyes found the authority of the preacher not in the laying on but in the reaching forth of hands.

"Preaching is not talking about the Christian religion, but about people with problems to be solved in relation to Christianity," Noyes insists. "If ministers will draw heavily upon the Bible for material they will not miss this essential truth, for the Bible is full of people who are constantly facing problems. Let us not think that revelations from God will come while we sit in an armchair cultivating the 'listening ear.' They will come only as a pastor spends an active, creative life among his people.

The Secret of Unity

"Christian fellowship," Noyes maintains, "can be secured only by a church engaging in tasks which call out loyalties that transcend individual differences. There will always be work for the church to do which other groups will not do, and work which the public has abandoned for more glamorous duties, such as the care of lepers, migrants, Japanese in America, Negroes and mountain folk."

For churches with opposing factions desiring to take stands on social issues, Noyes offers the plan of "experimental groups" within the church which are free to express whatever views they wish without committing the entire church to them. Mr. Noyes' own position on the war, as taken in his lectures, is not that of a pacifist. In humility and keen awareness of his nation's sins, he believes the defeat of the Axis powers essential to the establishment of a just peace and a world in which Christian principles will have the best chance for survival and growth.

Faith in Totality of Life

"The main thing the church can do today is to restore faith in the totality of life," Noyes believes. The church can do this by preaching less about the goodness of democracy and more about the good news of the gospel, less about Hitler and more about Jesus, less about the new world hegemony of England and America and more about the Kingdom of God. "Particularly in wartime the preacher must teach people how to use sorrow, how to transform it by the Cross, which alone shows us how we are to meet the grim side of life. Calvary is a promise of hope, for in it the most depressing act in history became the most creative act in history. Sorrow can bind a broken world into a common society," Noyes concluded.

Says U. S. Churches Capitalistic

Dr. William Paton, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, delivered as part of the convocation program the John C. Shaffer lectures on "The Gospel and World Issues." Paton desires closer cooperation of Great Britain and the United States partly because they will be more likely as allies to join with Russia than if each were to determine its policies alone. The drawing together of the Anglo-American and the Russian blocs of power would be advantageous to both, "for Russia needs the political and religious freedom of the Western democracies; and they need the economic democracy of Russia," says Paton. Mr. Paton cannot understand why "American religious journals are so anxious to play up every indication, however slight, that English churches are going 'left,' when American churches embody capitalism more than any other churches in the world."

Other speakers on the convocation program were Horace F. Holton, pastor of Porter Congregational Church, Brockton, Mass., who gave the alumni lecture on "A Christian Experience for Today"; and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York, who delivered the Nathaniel W. Taylor lecture on "Thomas Paine and the Deistic Controversy." Said Bishop McConnell, "I would like to clear for posterity the reputation given Paine by Theodore Roosevelt as 'that dirty little atheist.' It so happens that Paine was not dirty, only poor; not little, only average build; and not an atheist, only a modern heretic."

Charles R. Brown, dean emeritus of Yale Divinity School, was here to give the opening prayer, having attended every convocation since their beginning 32 years ago. He announced that he is in his 53rd year of preaching.

KENNETH W. UNDERWOOD.

Duke Plans Summer School

The divinity school at Duke University, Durham, N. C. plans to offer two terms of work this summer. The first session opens June 9 and the second July 21. Each session continues for six weeks with a full course of study.

Fundamentalists Form Cooperative Agency

At a three-day meeting in St. Louis, 150 delegates from Protestant churches, mission boards, Bible institutes, radio forums and interdenominational groups formed a cooperative fundamentalist body temporarily named "United Action Among Evangelicals," which will claim the support of churches in a fashion similar to that of the Federal Council. This new group is unsympathetic with the Federal Council. It refused, however, to combine with what is known as the American Council of Christian Churches, which conducts a militant campaign against the Federal Council. The conference here preferred to use the expression "not in accord with." Harold Ockenga, of the Park Street Congregational Church, Boston, was named president. A meeting next year will determine further policies.

A.F.S.C. Notes Its Anniversar

Feeds 84,000 Children in France—Summer Program Calls for Volunteers —Reconciliation Held Possible

(Special Correspondence)

PHILADELPHIA, April 15.—April 30 mark the 25th anniversary of the American Friends Service Committee. It is being observed here at an anniversary meeting of the committee on April 24 and by publication of a brochure, edited by John R. Rich, entitled *Twenty-Five Years Under the Red and Black Star.* Founded in the war days of 1917, it has had a quarter-century of a unique ministry of reconciliation. Rufus M. Jones of Haverford College is chairman and Clarence E. Pickett executive secretary.

Has Many Centers in Foreign Lands

From its modest beginnings this tiny stream of concerned cooperators has broadened and deepened into a remarkable force and fellowship far beyond the bounds of race or creed or color. Last year its general budget amounted to about $134,000, but its total income through special campaigns and other fund-raising efforts approximated $1,343,000. Twenty yearly meetings nominate their representatives on the committee. Headquarters are maintained at 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, with branches at New York, Chicago, Pasadena, Richmond, Ind., and project offices in many localities. Foreign centers have been established at Amsterdam, Berlin, Copenhagen, Geneva, Lisbon, Marseille, Paris, Shanghai, Tokyo and Vienna.

"Whatever concerns human beings in distress, whatever may help free individuals, groups and nations from fear, hate or narrowness"—these are the A.F.S.C. calls to action. In this they have proved true to their heritage. Their aim has been not simply to render personal relief and organized kindness but, wherever it has been vital, to lend a hand in a friendly way toward a more Christian solution of personal and social problems. Into areas and relationships, therefore, of conflict and tension they have impartially and purposefully gone on their prophetic mission as "repairers of the breach, restorers of paths to dwell in," rebuilders by the force of faith and the effectiveness of good will.

Began by Reconstruction in France

Their initial project took them in the First World War to devastated France to repair thousands of shell-damaged houses and erect hundreds of new cottages. A maternity hospital founded then continues until now. Food to combat famine was a post-war concern which sent them into Russia, Poland, Serbia, Austria and Germany. No such title as "Love's Labor Lost" could be written about those investments of time and trouble, talent and treasure. Even today the German people have gratefully remembered all that was done for their children, now grown into adulthood. This kind of war relief was later continued in Spain and is now going on in occupied France.

Once upon a time [In the Spring of 1942] there were three men

They were all *good* men—leaders in the community. They were anxious about the nature of the coming peace. "We must not lose the peace," they said. Everybody agreed. And so everybody agreed that they were the Peace Leaders of that place.

Then came the Delaware Conference. The Protestant churches of America united to outline the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. In a series of memorable Findings they set before the nation their conceptions of the world order which should follow the war. The three good men read about the Delaware Conference and its Findings. Then what did they do?

I

The first man skimmed through the Thirteen Points adopted at Delaware, when he opened his copy of The Christian Century for March 18. He leafed hurriedly through the Delaware Findings in The Christian Century for March 25. Then he sighed. "Sound ideas," he muttered. "Too bad more people don't think that way. Too bad we can't get a peace like that."

And that was the last of Delaware for him!

II

The second man read the Delaware Findings carefully. They stirred him deeply; he recognized their historic importance. "This is great stuff!" he said. "Have to tell people about this." So he read again what happened in 1919 at Versailles, and he preached a sermon the following Sunday on "What Kind of Peace Must Christians Seek?" Everyone said it was a Powerful Effort. The preacher felt so good about it himself that he spent all Sunday afternoon in a pleasant glow.

And that was the last of Delaware for him!

III

The third man read all he could find about Delaware. Then he went to the Adult Class in his Sunday School and asked, "What would you think of spending the next eight weeks in a discussion of the Delaware Findings?" When the class answered, unanimously and enthusiastically, "Fine!" he sent for a sufficient number of copies of the 80-page Discussion Handbook on the Delaware Conference. That really started something in his church. After that—

He found that he soon had a whole church eager to study and talk about the Delaware Conference!

* * *

If you are like the third man you will fill out the coupon below today for your copies of

The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace

Dr. Mary E. Woolley, for 37 years president of Mount Holyoke, leader in so many church, educational and international movements, after spending an entire day studying the Discussion Handbook wrote: "I LITERALLY SPENT ALL OF YESTERDAY STUDYING THE HANDBOOK. WILL YOU TELL THE WRITER THAT I THINK IT A REMARKABLE DOCUMENT? IT SHOULD BE IN THE HANDS OF EVERY CLERGYMAN AND CHURCH FOR STUDY DURING THE COMING WEEKS." *Orders to April 22: 9,015. Is yours included?*

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In fact, the Quaker work in France during the present war has been one of the few fellowship links between the two peoples there and here. Supplementary meals are being given daily to 84,000 schoolchildren, milk clinics daily are reaching 10,000 babies, relief and emigration assistance is offered to refugees, children's colonies are caring for 700 children, internment camps are receiving food, clothing and work shops. When the Swiss government took over the floors of the Palais Wilson, the Quakers closed their Geneva hostel, which had been opened since the summer of 1927. They reopened, however, the Quaker Center there. In their first Friends Meeting in their new location it seemed to them "as if this had long been a Quaker house, the simple, restful and hospitable home that we would like so much to make it," and they added: "Thus a new courage came to us."

Women Are Knitting for Refugees

From storerooms in Philadelphia and California clothing has been sent to distressed groups—migrants, sharecroppers and miners; to China, England, Santa Domingo and until recently to France. Thousands of Friends and other people of good will have made this possible by giving, knitting, sewing, collecting and renovating shoes and clothes. Refugees have found practical help. Hostels have been set up in Iowa, Indiana and Cuba. Cooperative workshops at New York and Haverford have aided scholars, artists and other intellectuals to readjust themselves for American professional life. Spanish refugees have been cared for in the Dominican Republic.

Three sections of the committee are concerned with problems in this country: peace, social-industrial difficulties and conscientious objectors in the Civilian Public Service camps. They are endeavoring to bridge chasms of misunderstanding in industry, to heal racial antagonism and to remove the bitterness from poverty and unemployment. Among unemployed miners in bituminous coal fields, where once 40,000 children were fed, they conduct a rehabilitation project at Penn Craft, Fayette county, Pa. In South Carolina, there is a similar project for sharecroppers.

Call for Volunteers This Summer

This summer five kinds of volunteer service projects will work toward nonviolent solutions of racial and national conflicts, remove causes of social injustice and seek to build a democracy with strong spiritual roots. Civilian training seminars will be held at Glen Mills, Pa., and Hidden Villa Ranch, Los Altos, Calif. Some will work in social agencies at Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia. Work camps will deal with rural rehabilitation, city rehabilitation, social reorganization of a small city, aliens of enemy countries, low-cost cooperative housing, sharecropper rehabilitation, migrant labor groups and work among Maine fishermen. A large student group will go out in peace service seminary teams, trained first at a seven-day institute at Camp Indianola, near Lancaster, O. Eleven institutes of international relations in the midwest and on the west and east coasts will reach students, ministers, teachers and other leaders. Mexican service seminars are being continued through the spring and summer in four centers where Americans will work with Mexicans.

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Conference Fears Rise of Racism

Negro-White Meeting Calls for Action to Reduce Tension—Racism Held Rooted in Economic Conditions

(Special Correspondence)

RICHMOND, April 17.—With magnificent spirit and scientific thoroughness the younger generation of Negro leaders is leading its young people to dig into the issues which face them in this turbulent modern world. This was the conclusion reached by this correspondent as a result of the fourth annual meeting of the National Conference of Church Leaders, which has just concluded its sessions here at Virginia Union University. Having attended many conferences and conventions, I have yet to see a white conference conducted with more skill or with a more comprehensive grasp of the issues than was characteristic of this interracial group.

Race Tension High

The critical state of race relations in America was reflected in a resolution adopted during the conference. It declared that "churchmen view with anxiety the threat of growing interracial tension in connection with the national emergency. Always deplorable, this condition is peculiarly unfortunate at a time when mutual understanding and unity are of paramount importance. Hence we urge consultation between leaders of both racial groups and with responsible government officials in the endeavor to secure a fair and equitable solution of our common problems." It was voted to present this resolution to President Roosevelt.

The real work of the conference went on in several round table discussions, whose participants were about equally divided between Negro and white speakers. One of the most interesting was led entirely by Negroes. Each discussed the contents of a book which had been assigned for study. Robert P. Daniel of Raleigh, N. C., reviewed *Negro Youth at the Crossways* by E. Franklin Frazier. This study of Negro youth, mainly those in Louisville, Ky., and Washington, D. C., stresses influence of class divisions on attitudes. Mr. Daniel said that Booker T. Washington, the pioneer, G. W. Carver, the scientist, and Joe Louis, heavyweight champion, are the three personalities most influential with Negro youth. Miss Julia Flowers of Indianapolis discussed *Children of Bondage* by Davis and Dollard, which also stresses the effects of economic status on youth.

Racism Rooted in Poverty

Growing Up in the Black Belt by Charles S. Johnson was discussed by Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University. He said: "Most of the ills that affect us are fruits of the poverty tree. Doing something about it is the previous question of the hour. Dr. Johnson points out that only 6 per cent of the Negroes are in the upper class, 12 per cent in the middle class and 82 per cent in the lower class. That 35,000 fight their way into colleges annually is a fact which revives our flagging faith in

human nature. The nation as a whole spends annually $99.70 for the education of each child in school. The south spends only $60.61, and only $23 per capita for Negro pupils in average daily attendance. This means the poorest equipment, the poorest instruction and the poorest results."

The issue of what Negro youth may expect after the war was raised by Stanley Harris of New York when he reviewed *Youth and the Future* by Young and Alexander. He stressed the importance of "a job where one can be occupied creatively." *Color and Human Nature* by Warner, Junker and Adams, an outline of socio-racial influences on Negro youth on Chicago's south side, was roundly criticized by Mrs. J. H. Kyles of Winston-Salem, N. C., as unscientific and unfair, unduly stressing gradations of color among Negroes.

Fears Loss of Liberty

One panel devoted itself to the service of Negro men in uniform. It was chaired by Harlan M. Frost of New York. Perhaps the most spirited panel discussion dealt with "After the war, then what in America?" Chairman B. R. Brazeal of Atlanta pointed out the danger that an American type of fascism may blot out the liberties we now possess. He said that in democracy we have the right of protest and the advocacy of orderly change. Miss Fannie Pitt Gross emphasized the importance of religious education both now and after the war. She thought the church should stress those "unalterable truths" upon which its faith and life depend and believed that the church had ventured too far into sociology and economics. She said that after the war of hate and revenge and a false sense of security we shall need adequately trained leaders.

Charles C. King of Georgia raised the question whether a church which did not have the moral courage nor the practical effectiveness to prevent the war would be able to meet the chaotic situation after the war is over. "We must begin to anticipate that situation. There is need for psychological preparedness. Other rival faiths are abroad. Will the church be able to meet them?" Miss Janet McIver of Petersburg, Va., advocated an international order without race discrimination. "The world's people must be fed, its sick healed, its economic problems solved—and we must begin now."

Justice Instead of Charity

The panel which discussed the policy of the mission boards, presided over by James B. Adams of Brooklyn, heard Noble Y. Beall of the Southern Baptist Board declare that "we should quit apologizing for missions; they constitute an expedition of God," and W. L. Eleazer of the Interracial Commission of Atlanta challenge the white churches to practice justice instead of giving charity. "The Christian men on the school boards of Mississippi apportion the school funds at about 9 to 1 in favor of the white children," he said.

Among the notable addresses was one by B. F. Gordon, pastor of a Negro church in Charlotte, N. C., who declared that the cause of the present crisis is sin on the part of so-called Christian peoples. His was the most searching address of the sessions. O. E. Baker, of the U. S. department of agriculture, said that since the birth rate in the United States has declined 25 per cent since its peak in 1921, "the future of the United States lies with the poor of the rural sections. A result of the population drop may be a disintegration of society. Only the church and the family can save it through a defense of family life." Hornell Hart of the divinity school at Duke University gave two addresses, one on the Delaware Conference and the other on minorities.

C. D. Hubert of Atlanta was re-elected president for the next conference; Mason Crum of Duke University, vice-chairman; George E. Haynes of the Federal Council of Churches, secretary; and Bishop L. S. Greene of Mississippi, chairman of the business committee. F. W. BURNHAM.

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Call Out the Marines (RKO) Edmund Lowe, V. McLaglen	*Farce* built around off-duty escapades of two middle-aged sergeants who re-enlist to help train recruits.	No story to speak of, and little else to recommend it. *Inane.*
The Male Animal (War.) H. Anderson, Jack Carson, O. DeHavilland, Henry Fonda, Joan Leslie, E. Pallette	*Comedy.* Meek English professor suffers competition at home when his wife is "rushed" by old football-hero friend, tries unsuccessfully to assert himself in traditional manner, succeeds when against opposition he reads Vanzetti letter in class.	Good comedy throughout with, underneath, successful satire on the "football mind" and dictatorship by trustees, and a sincere plea for principles of academic freedom. Characters are excellently interpreted. *Discerning entertainment.* **M**
Steel Against the Sky (War.) Lloyd Nolan	*Melodrama* about men working on construction of San Francisco bridge.	Hopelessly hackneyed plot, awkwardly presented. *Unconvincing.*
Thunder River Feud (Mono.) The Range Busters	*Western.* Trio help rival ranchers learn truth about each other, turn on common enemy.	Rather static for a western, awkward and lacking usual excitement and excellence of outdoor photography. *Below western standard.*
The Tuttles of Tahiti (RKO) Peggy Drake, Jon Hall, C. Laughton, A. Reynolds	*Comedy* of everyday life in the household of a happy-go-lucky, ingratiating family long settled on the island of Tahiti.	A delightful film in which character plays the chief part. Long in telling, whimsical, a pleasant deviation from usual film material. Based on Nordhoff-Hall story, "Out of Gas." *Diverting.* **M, Y, C**
Who Is Hope Schuyler? (Fox) Joseph Allen, Mary Howard, Ricardo Cortez	*Melodrama.* Young prosecutor encounters surprises when he seeks missing key witness in gambling ring investigation.	Obvious, awkwardly presented, its mystery solved by conversation. *Mostly dull.*

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Babes on Broadway, Fantasia, The Great Commandment, The Great Dictator, Hay Foot, It Started With Eve, Kathleen, The Reluctant Dragon, The Vanishing Virginian.

For Mature Audience: The Adventures of Martin Eden, All That Money Can Buy, Birth of the Blues, Blossoms in the Dust, Citizen Kane, The Forgotten Village, The Girl from Leningrad, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, Hold Back the Dawn, How Green Was My Valley, H. M. Pulham, Esq., Ku Kan, The Little Foxes, Major Barbara, The Man Who Came to Dinner, The Men in Her Life, Mr. V, One Foot in Heaven, Remember the Day, Sergeant York, The Stars Look Down, Sullivan's Travels, Suspicion, Target for Tonight, To Be or Not To Be.

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